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NOTE.

The Commission has received a large number of documents from the Foreign Office. These have proved in some cases insufficient for the purposes of the Commission, and in other cases too voluminous to make it possible to publish them in the form received.

The Secretary has therefore been directed to prepare Reports from these and from other sources for the use of the Commission. These Reports are to be published in connection with the proceedings of the Commission, but the Commission is in no way responsible for the statements of fact or of opinion which they contain.

i 78420.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON LABOUR.

44, Parliament Street, London, S.W.,
September 21st, 1893.

My Lord Duke,

I have the honour to submit to you the report which I have been directed to draw up on the Labour Question in Germany, in which I have incorporated much of the information I have collected with regard to the International Labour Movement.

In January 1892 I was directed to proceed to Germany to obtain certain information in connection with the report, but it will be obvious that, as in the case of the previous reports of this series, years of previous travel and study have been necessary for its preparation.

For much kindness and courtesy shown to me as Secretary of this Commission I am deeply indebted, not for the first time, to Sir Edward Malet, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin, to Mr. Whitehead, Secretary of the Embassy, and to Mr. Dundas, H.M. Consul General at Hamburg. But I may also be permitted here to express my thanks to Count Metternich, Prince Schönberg, and Baron Heintze of the German Embassy in London as well as to Privy Councillor von Gneist, Dr. Lohmann Under Secretary of State, Dr. Kœnigs of the Imperial Ministry of Commerce, Professor von Marquardsen Member of the Imperial Parliament, Professor Brentano, Professor Schmoller, Professor von Miaskowski, Herr Gerhardt von Schulze Gaevernitz, and to the many other German diplomatists, officials, statesmen, and learned men who have furnished me with valuable information for different sections of the Report. To Dr. Adler I am indebted for the proof sheets of his articles in Lexis' Dictionary of Political Science. I may perhaps call attention to the immense mass of material that has been treated in the present report and the great difficulty that has been experienced in dealing with the necessarily complicated statistical information, a difficulty which is enhanced by the frequent absence of summarised tables.

With regard to the International Labour Question, I should add that I was directed to attend the Socialist Congress at Zurich in August 1893, and that I have to express my thanks to Mr. H. Angst, H.M. Consul at Zurich for his attentions on that occasion and for his courtesy in subsequently procuring and forwarding to me many valuable books and pamphlets not then published.

I am,
Your Grace's obedient servant,
GEOFFREY DRAGE,
Secretary.

To His Grace The Duke of Devonshire, K.G.,
Chairman of the Royal Commission on Labour.

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REPORT ON THE LABOUR QUESTION IN GERMANY.

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REPORT ON THE LABOUR QUESTION IN GERMANY.

DIVISION I.—TRADE DISPUTES.

A.—General Relations between Employers and Employed.

1. *General Introduction.*

(*a.*) Preliminary considerations.

Throughout the following report a general knowledge of the formation of the present German Empire has been assumed. It is necessary, therefore, to keep in mind the steps, which it has been thought unnecessary to enumerate, by which a country consisting of 26 principalities, together with one first-rate power, the Kingdom of Prussia, became in 1869 the North German Confederation and, in 1870, the German Empire. In addition to the geographical and political difficulties which were involved in this process of unification, it must also be remembered that in the north there is a strong Danish and a Swedish element, in the east a large Polish or Slav population, and in Alsace-Lorraine a strong intermixture of the French; nor is it to be forgotten that beyond the boundaries of the Empire there exists in Austria proper a population which in race, language, and political history has long been bound by ties of sympathy to Southern Germany, whatever may have been its varying relation to the Prussian centre. It has also been thought unnecessary to do more than allude in passing to the religious differences inseparable from the existence of a Protestant royal house in Prussia, and a royal house formerly Protestant, but now Catholic, in Saxony, whilst a Catholic line rules over Bavaria, the largest State of Southern Germany. The variety of creeds existing, throughout the population of the Empire, as well as amongst the rulers, is an important factor in German life, and these difficulties of race, of politics, and of religion must not be for a moment overlooked, since in connexion with a report on the labour question in a country so lately consolidated, they assume an aspect almost of imperial importance as compared with the comparatively insignificant part which they play in the countries referred to in previous reports.

(*b.*) Distinction between east and west.

Any general considerations with regard to the labour question in Germany must in the first place be largely modified by the very great difference which exists between the eastern and the western provinces. Whilst the east is primarily agricultural, and only industrial in so far as a few large towns are concerned, the west is the seat of the mining and manufacturing industries, and as a rule combines agriculture with home industries. The labour question, therefore, as ordinarily understood, might almost be said to be confined to the western, central, and southern districts; the east is occupied with the solution of agrarian difficulties, and the political and racial complications to which those difficulties give rise. It follows that until very recently the organisation of labour and the spread of social democratic principles have produced so little effect in the east as to be barely perceptible, though the elections of 1893 give some reason for supposing that this condition of things is drawing to a close.(1)

(*c.*) Complicated political history.

In the second place the complicated political history of Germany and the consequent intricacy of its laws render the task of reviewing its industrial development one of extraordinary difficulty. It is necessary to keep in mind that, as Dr. Loening has expressed it, the present German Empire "has not been evolved out of "the older German Empire, but out of the territorial "States, and therefore its present administration is "not linked to the old Imperial institutions, but to "those of the territorial electorates." These institutions were remarkably simple, since the electors confined themselves for the most part to the military and judicial functions of sovereignty. Their immediate court constituted both their judiciary and their legislative council, and these court officials (*Hofbeamten*) were at the same time landholders bound by ties of personal service to the territorial sovereign (*Landesherr*). Gradually the old Crown rights attaching to the Archduke of Austria, as head of the Holy Roman Empire, were ceded to the electors, and after 1806 his nominal supremacy ceased altogether, and he took the title of Emperor of Austria. The history of Germany in the 19th century, therefore, has been a history of individual and independent principalities, gradually becoming conscious of the necessity of uniting to defend their common interests, influenced by the growing power of Prussia, and of the men who, in 1870, brought about the unity of the present German Empire. Recent Imperial legislation, whilst incorporating the great mass of the earlier legislation of the federated States, has yet left much uncodified and, though fallen into disuse, unrepealed. Hence the variety, for instance, between the mining laws of different States, and, again, the numerous provisions for the protection of female and child labour, which existed prior to their inclusion and codification in the industrial code. A general similarity between the laws of the various States was as a rule recognisable; where one State took the lead another frequently followed, as in the factory legislation just cited. Consequently under the Empire, when the organisation of such a matter of common interest as railway communication is left to the different States, there appears to be no difficulty in securing uniformity. A good instance of this process of imitation is to be found in the development of the criminal laws, which, as well as the commercial and the industrial laws, have been codified for the Empire. The civil law, on the other hand, as it has been handed down by the territorial governments, still remains side by side with the imperial constitution, and constitutes a fruitful source of confusion to the uninitiated. Throughout this report, where it is not otherwise stated, the Empire must be taken to mean the present federated German Empire, and the States the territorial sovereignties now forming the German Federation. (2)

(*d.*) Religious differences.

But besides the economic, historical, and legislative difficulties, there remains the difference of creed, which divides Catholic Germany in the west and south from Protestant Germany in the north and east. Until recently there can be little doubt that the influence of the church upon the life of the nation at large has been stronger in the Catholic than in the Protestant districts. The Catholic Church took a prominent part in the labour movement whilst the Protestant Church was still holding aloof, and though there are now some indications that Catholic influence is on the wane, and that the Protestant Church is awakening to a sense of the necessity of effort, it is still inferior in organisation and concentration, possibly also in fixity and definiteness of purpose.(3)

(*e.*) Feeling between the two industrial parties.

Dr. von Schulze-Gaevernitz draws attention to the relation between the social status of the employer and the amount of profits which will suffice to attract capital and intellect to an industry. "Where the "manufacturing classes are the first in a country or "where industrial callings stand high in the social "scale, they do not need the ulterior inducement of ex-"ceptionally large profits to attract the forces, which "would otherwise seek honour and reputation in "official ranks, or betake themselves to the industries "of other countries." In Germany commerce and industry are still often regarded as ranking low in the social scale, and German manufactures are as yet little beyond the first stages of organisation and concentration. In those stages, as Dr. von Schulze-Gaevernitz points out, class feeling runs high, the condition of the employed is one of real or fancied oppression, disputes are frequent, and the means of preventing them proportionately inefficient. On the whole the feeling between the two industrial parties in Germany remains one of mutual distrust, and the working classes are, as Herr Göhre has pointed out, to a very great extent under the dominion of the political and social views of the Social Democratic Party.(4)

(1) See the treatment of this subject in the body of the Report, pp. 20, 52-55, 92-101, and authorities there cited.

(2) Drage, "The Criminal Code of the German Empire," 1885, pp. 1-20, Loening, "Lehrbuch des Deutschen Verwaltungsrechts," 1884, pp. 37-55.

(3) *See* pp. 18-19 in body of Report and authorities there cited.

(4) Schulze-Gaevernitz, "Der Grossbetrieb, eine Studie auf dem Gebiete der Baumwollindustrie," 1892, pp. 204-207. Göhre, "Drei Monate Fabrikarbeiter," 1891.

2. *Influence of the Socialist party upon the labour movement.*

(a.) Origin and history of German Socialism. (i.) First period, 1840–1852.

Three periods can be clearly traced in the history of German Socialism, the first from 1840 to 1852, the second from 1862 to the passing of the law against the Socialists in 1878, and the third from 1878 down to the present time. During the first period the Socialist movement, though owing much to the inspiration of German leaders, such as Weitling, Friedrich Engels, and Karl Marx, was of an international and communist character. Its sphere of action was rather England, France, and Switzerland than Germany, and it owed not a little to the influence of Louis Blanc. Inasmuch, however, as Karl Marx was the leading spirit of the movement, the Socialism of 1840 to 1852 may be rightly described as German in origin, though its further development belongs more strictly to the history of internationalism (*see* p. 13). The failure of the hopes which had been based by Karl Marx and his friends on the French Revolution of 1848 forced them to retire for a time into obscurity, and in 1852 Socialism was generally regarded as dead. Still its re-appearance was only a question of time, and when it did re-appear, it was as a German movement on German soil under the leadership of Ferdinand Lassalle. The appearance of Lassalle as a Socialist leader had been preceded in Germany by a period of philanthropic activity, which showed itself in the formation of a central union for promoting the welfare of the working classes and in the establishment of numerous benefit funds and co-operative undertakings. In the last, Herr Schulze-Delitzsch took the lead, with the support of those German economists who adopted the principles of the Manchester school. The connexion of these economists with the Liberal or Progressist party in politics drew upon Herr Schulze the enmity of several German Governments, and especially of that of Prussia, then engaged in a struggle with the Liberals on the question of increasing the army. The Catholic Church also regarded the independent and materialist teaching of the Manchester school with marked disfavour, and thus it came to pass that when Lassalle appeared as the champion of the working classes against Schulze-Delitzsch and the *bourgeoisie*, and as the advocate of national unity and of a Socialist monarchy, he was looked upon with favour by Prince Bismarck on the one hand, and by Monsignor de Ketteler, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Mayence on the other.(1)

(ii.) Second period, 1862–1878.

This fortunate conjunction of circumstances, combined with his own fire and eloquence, brought Lassalle his rapid success. The indecision of the Progressists on such questions as universal suffrage had aroused discontent amongst the working classes, who looked to them for a definite policy. When Lassalle appeared with his economic refutation of the adequacy of Schulze-Delitzsch's principle of self-help, and his advocacy of universal suffrage, the substitution of direct for indirect taxation, the extension of educational facilities and the establishment of productive co-operation at the State charge, his success was immediate and overwhelming. In 1861 he had embodied these principles, together with a declaration of the inherent right of the working classes to sovereign power, in a workmen's programme. This he followed up in 1862 by the formation of a General Association of German Working Men, which in 1863 had gained more than 10,000 members. His early death in a duel in 1864 was followed by a split in his party. He had nominated Herr Becker as his successor, but the association, regarding the choice as ill-advised, elected Herr von Schweitzer, the future organiser of the German Gewerkschaften or workmen's associations (*see* p. 26). This election was not accepted by the Countess Hatzfeldt, an ardent supporter of Lassalle, and she succeeded in gathering a small party round herself, though the majority remained faithful to Herr von Schweitzer. Difficulties continued to arise within the party, especially after the formation in London in 1864 of the International Association of Working Men under the leadership of Karl Marx, and the subsequent organization in 1865 of the Social Democratic Workmen's party in Germany under Herr Liebknecht and Herr Bebel, disciples of Karl Marx.(2)

From 1865, therefore, until 1875 there were two parties of Socialists or Social Democrats in Germany, the Lassallians under Herr von Schweitzer with their head-quarters at Berlin, and the Marxists, under Herr Liebknecht and Herr Bebel, with their head-quarters in Saxony, and their strongest following in South Germany generally. The first party was purely national, the second, at any rate at first, directly connected with the International under Marx. The economic difference between the two is more difficult to define, and seems to have been one of method of treatment rather than of principle; for though the form which Lassalle gives to his theory of wages differs somewhat from that of Marx, both agree in regarding labour as the sole source of wealth, and the labourer as entitled to the whole amount which he produces, not merely to that part of it represented by wages. Lassalle preferred to state what he regarded as the inevitable outcome of the existing social order, under the form of "the iron law of wages," whereas Marx considered that this form of statement did not go to the root of the matter, and himself lays greater stress upon the doctrine of "surplus value or the natural history of capital." According to Lassalle, wages must inevitably tend to fall to a point at which the workman can barely obtain the means of subsistence. If they rise above this point, the consequent increase in population will inevitably drag them down to their former level; if they fall below, the decrease in population due to starvation will raise them again. The only escape from the dominion of this law appeared to Lassalle to be the inauguration of a system of productive co-operation, the necessary funds for which should be supplied by the State. If this system were combined with the widest diffusion of political power, the State, or rather its individual members, would become the owners of the means of production; but Lassalle's national and monarchical tendencies would, as Prince Bismarck said of him, have led him to regard a beneficent autocracy as equally consistent with his system of co-operative production. It is on the question of the remedy for existing economic evils that Karl Marx joins issue with Lassalle. With regard to the cause of these evils they are, as has been stated, to a certain extent at one, except that where "Lassalle "insists chiefly on the small share of the produce of "labour which goes to the labourer, Marx traces the "history of the share called surplus value, which goes "to the capitalist." All capital is derived, according to Marx, from the surplus value conferred by the labourers upon the raw material. All value other than that of raw material is the creation of labour; consequently the share of value retained by the capitalist is wrongfully withheld from its creators. Further, the inevitable tendency of industrial development is to force small industries to give way more and more to large industries, where capital is increasingly needed, and where the workman is, therefore, more and more divorced from his rightful ownership of the means of production. Nothing short of collective ownership by the community as a whole can obviate the evils of a rapidly increasing proletariate and a constantly diminishing number of persons possessed of complete power over the lives of their fellows. Productive co-operation in the Lassallian sense is regarded by Marx as entirely inadequate, and he is impatient both of all attempts to introduce reforms within the existing State and of such an imperfect representation of his doctrine as Lassalle's "Iron Law of Wages."(3)

It will be seen, therefore, that apart from the controversy which existed as to the mutual obligations of Marx and Lassalle, and as to the extent to which either had borrowed his economic doctrines from the other, Marx is essentially the deeper thinker, and that the principles of the party which recognised him as its founder were of a more far-reaching character than those of the followers of Lassalle. Herr Rudolf Meyer has, however,

(1) Lavollée, "Les Classes Ouvrières en Europe," 1884, Vol. I., pp. 230-281. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. IV., p. 965. Art. "Lassalle," Diehl. Engels, "Der Sozialismus in Deutschland," Neue Zeit, 1891-2, No. 19. Kautsky, "Das Erfurter Programm," 1892, p. 243. Wolf, "Sozialismus und Kapitalistische Gesellschaftsordnung," 1892, pp. 43-50. Laveleye, "Le Socialisme Contemporain," 1891, pp. 22-25. Kirkup, "History of Socialism," 1892, pp. 69, 70. Graham, "Socialism, New and Old," 1891, pp. 125-127. Meyer, "Der Emanzipations kampf des vierten Standes," 1882, Vol. I., pp. 194-220.

(2) Lavollée, "Les Classes Ouvrières en Europe," 1884, Vol. I., pp. 230-281. Wagner, "Das neue Sozialdemokratische Programm," 1892, pp. 6-17. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. IV., p. 965. Art. "Lassalle," Diehl. Engels, "Der Sozialismus in Deutschland," Neue Zeit, 1891-2, No. 19. Kirkup, "History of Socialism," 1892, pp. 75-85. Meyer, "Der Emanzipationskampf des vierten Standes," 1882, Vol. I., pp. 220-249. v. Schönberg, "Handbuch der Politischen Oekonomie," 1885, Vol. I., pp. 118-121.

(3) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, Vol. IV., p. 965, Art. "Lassalle," Diehl. p. 1130, Art. "Marx," Engels. Also Vol. V., pp. 707, 769, Arts. "Die Sozialdemokratie," and "Sozialismus und Kommunismus," Adler. Wagner, "Das neue Sozialdemokratische Programm," 1892, pp. 6-17. Laveleye, "Le Socialisme Contemporain," 1891, pp. 17-47, 67-92. Kirkup, "History of Socialism," 1892, pp. 90-116, 128-154. v. Schönberg, "Handbuch der Politischen Oekonomie," 1885, Vol. I., pp. 116-118. Graham, "Socialism, New and Old," 1891 pp. 138-151.

pointed out that the leading doctrines both of Marx and Lassalle are to be found in the works of Rodbertus-Jagetzow, Prussian Minister of Agriculture in 1848. Rodbertus took no active part in the formation of a Socialist party, nevertheless, he may be justly regarded as the economic founder of modern German socialism.

Social Democracy, as advocated by Herr Bebel and Herr Liebknecht, and as embodied in the Eisenach programme of 1869, is especially remarkable for the claim which it makes to a strictly scientific foundation, for its repudiation of all ideal elements, and its rejection of State socialism of every kind, and of all proposals to introduce any reform within the existing economic order. The "State" to the Social Democrats represents always the "State of the future"; for the State as it now exists they have nothing but contempt. The leaders of the party were, however, too wise to give open expression at first to their remoter aims, except in countries which they regarded as sufficiently advanced to be able to receive them. In Germany, at any rate, the Internationalists adopted a cautious policy; they contented themselves with inciting the workmen to strike and inducing them to become members of organisations (*Internationale Gewerksgenossenschaften*), see p. 26), which could be employed as means of propagating social democratic principles. Up to 1871, the growth of either socialist body was slow, but the disorganisation of political parties, consequent upon the financial crises succeeding the Franco-German war, and the introduction by Prince Bismarck of the laws against Catholics, gave the Socialists their opportunity. After 1872 they advanced with rapid strides. In 1871 they had scarcely been able to return two representatives to the Reichstag, in 1874 the Lassallians gained three seats and the Internationalists seven, whilst the combined Socialist vote amounted to 375,000, or five per cent. of the whole number of voters. In 1875 a reconciliation took place between the two Socialist bodies, and in 1877 they succeeded in returning 12 members to the Reichstag; three to the Saxon Landtag, and many others to municipal bodies, whilst the Socialist vote amounted to 485,122. In 1878, in spite of the disadvantages under which they were placed by the attempts which had been made upon the life of the Emperor, they returned nine members and secured 600,000 votes.(1)

(iii.) Third period, 1878-1893.

On October 21st, 1878, a law was passed by a majority of 72, "against the generally dangerous efforts of Social Democracy," by which the magistrates were empowered to prohibit "societies which aim at the "subversion of the existing political and social order by "Social Democratic, Socialist or Communist efforts." The magistrates were also empowered to take the control of suspected societies and to issue a prohibition at any subsequent time when it should appear to be necessary. They might also order the dissolution of Socialist meetings, and prohibit the publication of Socialist prints. Membership in a prohibited society, attendance at a prohibited meeting, and the further publication of a prohibited print were made punishable by fine or imprisonment; persons presiding at such a meeting or placing rooms at the disposal of the organisers of such a meeting were liable to imprisonment without the option of a fine. Professional agitators were liable to have their place of residence circumscribed and to be punished by imprisonment; if of foreign birth, they were liable to banishment from the federal territory. There is a wide divergence of opinion as to the influence exercised by this law upon the development of the Social Democratic Party. Its immediate effect upon the party organisation was disastrous; but after the first shock had passed strenuous efforts were made to carry on the desired propaganda by means of a secret instead of an open organisation. A committee was formed by Herr Bebel at Leipzig, nominally for the purpose of assisting the families of exiled Socialists, but in reality with the object of maintaining the party organisation. Similar committees were formed in other large towns by means of which funds were collected and Socialist literature distributed. Clubs were also established under the management of a standing committee pledged to carry out their orders. These clubs met at private houses, but not more than about 10 members attended each meeting for fear of rousing the suspicions of the police. By these means and by the formation of local unions in separate trades (*Fachvereine*), which took no open part in politics, the Social Democrats not only maintained but increased their membership to such an extent that Dr. Schäffle feels himself compelled to state that the law against the Socialists rather increased than diminished the belief of a large section of the nation in the possibility of a reformation of society upon social democratic lines. Indeed, Dr. Schäffle is of opinion that though the law against the Socialists proved effective in putting an end to the violent expressions of opinion and the "terrorist" principles openly avowed by the party in 1878, it rather strengthened than weakened the disposition of the German working classes to believe in the desirability of replacing the existing order of things by the Socialist State. Further, the law did not prove successful in preventing the dissemination of Socialist principles, since, apart from the facilities for informal communication afforded by the massing together of workmen under the factory system, the secret organisation of the party enabled the distribution of literature, printed abroad, to be continued. The necessity for caution also taught the agitators to adopt more practical and more effective methods of agitation. Nor does Dr. Schäffle consider that the banishment of the leaders was any check to the growth of the party, since it was impossible to prevent communications between the exiles and those remaining in Germany; in his opinion "the exiles were only made less responsible and therefore less easy to control." If the aim of the promoters of the law was to divert the popular mind from its almost superstitious faith in the all-saving power of Social Democracy, Dr. Schäffle argues that that aim was to a great extent defeated by the necessity of periodically extending the law. It was originally passed for a term of three years only, but in 1881 it was extended until 1884, in 1884 until 1887, and in 1887 until 1890, when it was finally allowed to lapse. With the removal of the necessity for secrecy in their organisation and principles, the Socialist Party immediately began to take steps for the issue of a new official programme. A congress was held at Halle in October 1890, which was attended by 400 delegates. This congress decided that the leaders of the party should be empowered to draw up a programme to be submitted to the members and finally adopted or rejected at a further congress to be held at Erfurt in October 1891.(2)

(b.) Development of the Socialist program

The Erfurt programme is the third which has been officially issued by the party. That issued at Eisenach in 1869 still showed traces of the influence of Lassalle, but was in the main characteristic of the rising Marxist or International section, whilst the Gotha programme, issued in 1875, the year of the reconciliation between the followers of Lassalle and those of Marx, was to a great extent a compromise. As such it was fiercely denounced at the time by Karl Marx himself in a letter to the Socialist leaders, which, however, they thought it wise to suppress. Thus it was not until the Halle Congress of 1890 that the bulk of the party learned that the programme upon which they had based their faith for 15 years had been designated by their most revered leader as "thoroughly reprehensible and demoralising." A comparison between the Eisenach, Gotha, and Erfurt programmes brings out several important differences. The three programmes all agree in asserting the fundamental injustice and iniquity of existing economic and social conditions, especially of private ownership of the means of production, the necessary connexion of economic with political freedom, and the consequent obligation resting upon all Social Democrats to strive with all their might to obtain equal rights for all, and the abolition of all class privileges and class government. The Gotha and Erfurt programmes, however, go far beyond that of Eisenach in the definiteness with which they state both the grounds upon which these propositions are based and the means of obtaining these ends, whilst there is again a wide difference between the two in tone and in the general handling of the question. The Gotha programme relies mainly upon a demonstration of the right of society to the products of labour and the necessity of social regulation of production with distribution of products according to reasonable needs. It states that the working men of Germany should strive by all legal means to establish a free Socialist State and to frustrate the working of the iron law of

(1) Wolf, "Sozialismus und kapitalistische Gesellschaftsordnung" 1892, pp. 45-50. Lavollée, "Les Classes Ouvrières en Europe," 1884, Vol. I., pp. 230-287. Engels, "Der Sozialismus in Deutschland," Neue Zeit. 1891-2, No. 19. Hansen, "Der deutsche Arbeiter und die Sozialdemokratie," 1891, pp. 47-52. Meyer, "Der Emanzipationskampf des vierten Standes," 1882, Vol. I., pp. 57, 240-272.

(2) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften." Vol. I., p. 988. Art. "Das Ausnahmegesetz," Busse. Krieter, "Die Geheime Organisation der Sozialdemokratischen Partei," 1887. Schäffle, "Die Bekämpfung der Sozialdemokratie ohne Ausnahmegesetz," 1890, pp. 19-24. Hansen, "Der deutsche Arbeiter und die Sozialdemokratie," 1891, pp. 51-80. Wagner, "Das neue Sozialdemokratische Programm," 1892, pp. 6-19. Schäffle, "Die Aussichtslosigkeit der Sozialdemokratie," 1891, p. v.

wages by the subversion of the present wages system and the substitution of State-aided productive co-operation. It concludes its theoretical statement of principles by a general assertion of the necessity of removing all political and social inequalities, and of its intention, in view of the international character of the labour movement, to use every effort to promote the brotherhood of humanity even whilst acting within strictly national limits. In this last clause, as well as in the reference to the iron law of wages, the influence of Lassallian doctrines makes itself clearly felt, for the Eisenach programme had definitely affirmed the adherence of the Social Democrats to the International Labour Party. The Erfurt programme has reverted to the original position, and contains an explicit recognition of the identity of interests between the working men of every land, and of the unity of action with which they should pursue their common objects. The theoretical portion of this last programme consists of a rigorously scientific deduction of the consequences arising from the existing economic system. It is far more uncompromising than its predecessors, and omits all reference to any such remedy as productive co-operation, all allusion to the iron law of wages and any restriction of its freedom of action, such as was before expressed by the clause "by all legal means." It is very explicit as to the increase and probable fate of the proletariate, and points out clearly to the lower middle classes their inevitable descent into its ranks, nor will it admit of any remedy other than the establishment of the Socialist State. Each of the three programmes passes from a theoretical statement of principles to a statement of objects remote and immediate which the party are to pursue. These are substantially the same in all three cases, but it is noteworthy that a gradual advance takes place in the scope and definiteness of the demands. For instance, where the Eisenach programme requires direct legislation by the people, the Gotha programme adds "in questions of war and peace," and the Erfurt programme adds further "by means of the right of initiative and of veto." It also demands "choice of magistrates by the people with popular right of control," and requires that all international disputes should be submitted to arbitration. Again, where the Eisenach programme demands the suffrage for all men over 20 years of age, the Gotha programme substitutes the indefinite word "subjects," and the Erfurt programme "subjects without distinction of sex." So, too, with the question of education. The Eisenach programme asks that it shall be separated from the church, the Gotha programme that religion shall be regarded as a private matter, and the Erfurt programme that education shall be entirely secular, while to the previous demand for free education the Erfurt programme adds free provision of the necessary apparatus and free maintenance for children at school. The statement in full of the Erfurt programme of October 1891 will, however, best illustrate the present position of Social Democracy:—

"The economic development of industrial society tends inevitably to the ruin of small industries, which are based upon the workman's private ownership of the means of production. It separates him from these means of production and converts him into a destitute member of the proletariate, whilst a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners obtain a monopoly of the means of production.

"Hand in hand with this growing monopoly goes the crushing out of existence of these shattered small industries by industries of colossal growth, the development of the tool into the machine, and a gigantic increase in the productiveness of human labour. But all the advantages of this revolution are monopolised by the capitalists and great landowners. To the proletariate and to the rapidly sinking middle classes, the small tradesmen of the towns and the peasant proprietors (*Bauer*), it brings an increasing uncertainty of existence, increasing misery, oppression, servitude, degradation, and exploitation (*Ausbeutung*).

"Ever greater grows the mass of the proletariate, ever vaster the army of the unemployed, ever sharper the contrast between oppressors and oppressed, ever fiercer that war of classes between *bourgeoisie* and proletariate, which divides modern society into two hostile camps and is the common characteristic of every industrial country. The gulf between the propertied classes and the destitute is widened by the crises arising from capitalist production, which becomes daily more comprehensive and omnipotent, which make universal uncertainty the normal condition of society, and which furnish a proof that the forces of production have outgrown the existing social order, and that private ownership of the means of production has become incompatible with their full development and their proper application.

"Private ownership of the means of production, formerly the means of securing his product to the producer, has now become the means of buying out the peasant proprietors, the artisans and the small tradesmen, and placing the non-producers, the capitalists and large landowners, in possession of the products of labour. Nothing but the conversion of capitalist private ownership of the means of production—the earth and its fruits, mines and quarries, raw material, tools, machines, means of exchange—into social ownership, and the substitution of socialist production carried on by and for society can effect such a revolution that, instead of large industries and the steadily growing capacities of common production being, as hitherto, a source of misery and oppression to the classes whom they have despoiled, they may become a source of the highest well-being and of the most perfect and comprehensive harmony.

"This social revolution involves the emancipation not merely of the proletariate, but of the whole human race, which is suffering under existing conditions. But this emancipation can be achieved by the working class alone, because all other classes, in spite of their mutual division of interests, take their stand upon the principle of private ownership of the means of production and have a common interest in maintaining the existing social order.

"The struggle of the working classes against capitalist exploitation must of necessity be a political struggle. The working classes can neither carry on their economic struggle nor develop their economic organisation without political rights. They cannot effect the transfer of the means of production to the community without being first invested with political power.

"It must be the aim of Social Democracy to give conscious unanimity to this struggle of the working classes and to indicate the inevitable goal.

"The interests of the working classes are identical in all lands governed by capitalist methods of production. The extension of the world's commerce and production for the world's markets make the position of the workman in any one country daily more dependent upon that of the workmen in other countries. Therefore the emancipation of labour is a task in which the workmen of all civilised lands have a share. Recognising this, the Social Democrats of Germany feel and declare themselves at one with the workmen of every land, who are conscious of the destinies of their class.

"The German Social Democrats are not, therefore, fighting for new class privileges and rights, but for the abolition of class government and even of classes themselves, and for universal equality in rights and duties without distinction of sex or rank. Holding these views, they are not merely fighting against the exploitation and oppression of the wage earners in the existing social order, but against every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether directed against class, party, sex, or race.

"Starting from these principles the German Social Democrats demand:—

"1. Universal, equal, and direct suffrage by ballot in all elections for all subjects of the Empire over 20 years of age, without distinction of sex. Proportional representation, and, until this system has been introduced, fresh division of electoral districts by law after each census. Two years' duration of the legislature. Holding of elections on a legal day of rest. Payment of the representatives elected. Removal of all restriction upon political rights, except in the case of persons under age.

"2. Direct legislation by the people by means of the right of initiative and of veto. Self-government by the people in Empire, State, province, and commune. Election of magistrates by the people, with the right of holding them responsible. Annual assessment of taxes.

"3. Universal military education. Substitution of militia for a standing army. Decision by the popular representatives of questions of peace and war. Decisions of all international disputes by arbitration.

"4. Abolition of all laws which restrict or suppress free expression of opinion and the right of meeting or association.

" 5. Abolition of all laws which place the woman, whether in a private or in a public capacity, at a disadvantage as compared with the man.

" 6. Declaration that religion is a private matter. Abolition of all expenditure from public funds upon ecclesiastical and religious objects. Ecclesiastical and religious bodies are to be regarded as private associations which order their affairs independently.

" 7. Secularisation of education. Compulsory attendance at public national schools. Free education, free supply of educational apparatus and free maintenance to children in schools, and to such pupils, male and female, in higher educational institutions as are judged to be fitted for further education.

" 8. Free administration of the law and free legal assistance. Administration of the law by judges elected by the people. Appeal in criminal cases. Compensation to persons accused, imprisoned, or condemned unjustly. Abolition of capital punishment.

" 9. Free medical assistance, and free supply of remedies. Free burial of the dead.

" 10. Graduated income and property tax to meet all public expenses, which are to be met by taxation. Self-assessment. Succession duties, graduated according to the extent of the inheritance and the degree of relationship. Abolition of all indirect taxation, customs duties, and other economic measures, which sacrifice the interests of the community to the interests of a privileged minority.

" For the protection of labour the German Social Democrats also demand:—

" 1. An effective national and international system of protective legislation on the following principles:—

" *a.* The fixing of a normal working day, which shall not exceed eight hours.

" *b.* Prohibition of the employment of children under 14.

" *c.* Prohibition of night work, except in those branches of industry which, from their nature and for technical reasons or reasons of public welfare, require night work.

" *d.* An unbroken rest of at least 36 hours for every workman every week.

" *e.* Prohibition of the truck system.

" 2. The supervision of all industrial establishments, together with the investigation and regulation of the conditions of labour in town and country by an Imperial labour department, district labour bureaux, and chambers of labour. A thorough system of industrial sanitary regulation.

" 3. Legal equality of agricultural labourers and domestic servants with industrial labourers; repeal of the laws concerning masters and servants.

" 4. Confirmation of the right of association.

" 5. The taking over by the Imperial Government of the whole system of workmen's insurance, though giving the workmen a certain share in its administration."

It will be seen that this, the latest utterance of the German Socialist Party, lays especial stress upon the equal rights to be given to women, and omits all reference to women's labour, though the restriction of such labour had formed part of the earlier programmes. The programme lays down no rules as to conditions of membership, but the leaders of the Social Democrats have found it necessary to make some regulations, and in spite of the claim to absolute freedom to impose some sort of discipline. According to the "scheme of organisation for the Social Democratic Party in Germany" any person may be a member "who gives his "adhesion to the party programme and continues to "afford the party material support." A member, who after joining does not fulfil these conditions, may be excluded by the branch to which he belongs.(1)

(c.) International and Anarchist tendencies. (i.) History

The influence exercised by Karl Marx upon the development of Social Democracy accounts for the formation within the party of an Internationalist and even of an Anarchist section. Nevertheless, it is abundantly clear from the history of the rise and fall of the famous association that the principles of this latter section were directly opposed by Karl Marx himself. In its best known form the International was the outcome of the International Exhibition in London in 1862, but it had been preceded by a secret society of exiled German Socialists calling themselves the "League of the Just" (*Bund der Gerechten*). This league had its headquarters in London, and was allied with a non-secret association professing Communist principles, called at first the Communist Association for the education of the Working Classes, and afterwards simply the Communist League. In 1847 this league, which was directed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, published a manifesto, afterwards printed in all the chief languages of Europe, and designed to rouse the working classes both in Europe and America. It advocated the abolition of private property, the centralisation of all credit in a State or national bank, agriculture on a large scale and on scientific principles, and industry carried on in national workshops. This transformation of society must, in the words of the manifesto, be effected by the working classes as a whole, and the manifesto closed with an appeal, which still remains one of the watchwords of German Social Democracy, "Proletarians of every land unite." A scheme for federating the workmen's associations throughout the world was set on foot, and it was decided to hold an international labour congress at Brussels; but the disastrous results of the Communist experiments in Paris in 1848 led to the abandonment of the project. It was revived in 1862, when the French workmen sent over by the French Government to the International Exhibition were entertained by the English workmen, and a proposal was made to form workmen's committees for the exchange of correspondence upon questions of international industry. Two years later the International Association of Working Men was organised, under the direction of a general council, amongst whom Marx became the leading spirit. At its outset the association included representatives of England, France, Italy, Poland, and Switzerland to the number of about 50, whilst its available funds amounted only to 3*l*. As sketched out by Marx the association was to consist of sections composed of workmen belonging to one locality or to one trade. These sections were to form federations, and these federations were to be united into national associations, a degree of organisation which was never attained. The sections and federations were to establish bureaux, which should send a monthly report of the condition of the sectional affairs to the general council, elected by the representatives of the federation at the annual congress. A large amount of individual freedom was to be allowed to the separate bodies, with the object, if possible, of affiliating all workmen's associations throughout the world to the International. Nothing was required of members but adherence to the principles of the association and the payment of a small subscription, which, nevertheless, the International found itself subsequently unable to enforce. This was not the only difficulty which beset the association. From the first, widely different conceptions of its nature and objects were cherished by different sections. To the English members it appeared in the character of a magnified trade union, formed for the purpose of obtaining better conditions of labour, and assuming an international form for the sake of preventing the defeat of strikers by the importation of foreign labour. To the revolutionary Anarchists of Italy, Spain, and the Jura (*see* p. 14), it appeared as a means of bringing about that social conflagration which they regarded as the necessary precursor of the new era. While the English Internationalists, therefore, looked to the association to aid them in maintaining the rate of wages, the continental Internationalists expected it to abolish the wages system altogether. These extreme tendencies were for a time kept in check by the influence of Marx, and the International at first confined itself to its original object, the support of strikes. Up to 1867 its progress was slow, but in that year its power began to be felt, and it succeeded both in terrifying the employers in the Paris bronze industry into granting the demands of their employés, and in persuading a large number of foreign workmen imported into England to return to their homes. The result was a great increase in the number of adherents. In Germany especially the recruiting of members, which had hitherto made slow progress, and which had been almost entirely stopped by the war between Germany and Austria, proceeded with greater rapidity, and in 1868 a hundred workmen's societies assembled at Nüremberg declared their adhesion to the International. Similar

of the "International."

(1) Wagner, "Das neue Sozialdemokratische Programm," 1892, pp. 17-30, 49-51. Kautsky, "Das Erfurter Programm," 1892. Bebel, "Die Frau und der Sozialismus," 1892. Hansen, "Der deutsche Arbeiter und die Sozialdemokratie," 1891, p. 58. Schäffle, "Die Aussichtslosigkeit der Sozialdemokratie," 1891, pp. 4, 5.

declarations were made by bodies of workmen in other countries, as, for instance, by 800,000 workmen in the United States, but too often these adherents brought only moral support to the association and did not, as M. de Laveleye says, supply "either authority or money." Consequently the International, though numbering its members by millions, was unable even to furnish the necessary support to members on strike; "the most insignificant English trade union had a "better furnished treasury." With the consequent decline of the prestige which at first attached to the association and led employers to magnify its strength, its power to restrain the revolutionary tendencies of some of the continental sections diminished, and it only required the outbreak of the Franco-German war and the excesses of the Commune to complete its ruin. Prior to the war the congress at Bâle in 1869 had published an emphatic expression of disapproval, declaring the struggle to be a civil war in favour of Russia, and calling upon labour in all lands to testify to its abhorrence of hostilities by a universal strike. Similar manifestoes were issued from time to time during the war. The German Social Democrats held a congress at Brunswick, in which they protested against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, with the result that the General in command of the district committed the leaders to prison. Though the International itself as a body is guiltless of any share in the initiation of the Commune, many of the Paris Communists were members of the association, and a manifesto subsequently issued by Karl Marx declared that "its "martyrs will be for ever enshrined in the great heart "of the working classes" and that "history has "already nailed its destroyers to the pillory, from "which all the prayers of priests are powerless to "release them." These utterances resulted in a great secession of English trade unionists, whilst the national enthusiasm excited in Germany by the success of the army diminished the German membership in an association which regarded military glory with abhorrence. Meanwhile troubles were increasing within the association. In 1868 an "International Alliance of "Social Democrats," known afterwards as the Federation of the Jura, had been organised at Neufchatel by Bakounin, an exiled Russian noble and the leader of the European Anarchists. This alliance obtained a certain following in Italy, Spain, and the Jura district, and at its own request was in 1869 affiliated to the International. "No centralisation, no State, not even a "revolutionary dictatorship, and above all no autho-"rity" were the watchwords of the alliance, which had also made a specific declaration of atheism. The General Council of the International saw their association in danger of being shaken to its foundations. At the Bâle Congress of 1869, Bakounin declared that his only aim was the radical destruction of the existing order of things. "I demand," said he, "the destruction "of all national and territorial governments and the "construction upon their ruins of the International "State of the millions of workers." In the face of this difficulty the General Council of the International sought an enlargement of their powers, whilst on the other hand the sections of the Jura protested against the dictatorship of Marx. Matters came to a crisis at the congress held in 1872 at the Hague. James Guillaume, the leader of the Jura sections, attacked Marx to his face. "We have heard it said," said he, "that the International was the invention of a clever "man endowed with infallibility in all social and "political matters, and whom no one has a right to "oppose . . . But in our opinion the International "was the spontaneous outcome of existing economic "conditions, and we wish for no chief who constitutes "himself a judge of heresies." The majority, however, were still with Marx, and instead of abolishing the General Council they conferred upon it the right of suspending sections and even federations, subject to a right of appeal to the annual congress. This power was immediately exercised by the exclusion of Bakounin and Guillaume, after which Marx declared that the head-quarters of the association should be removed to New York, in the hope of thus withdrawing it from the disturbing influences which menaced it in Europe. But the association only survived its transportation one year. After a final congress at Geneva in 1873, it practically came to an end, though its last remaining members in America did not vote its final dissolution until 1876.(1)

(ii.) Influence of the "International" upon

The importance of the International Association in the development of German Socialism is two-fold. In the first place, it brought to the front the underlying Anarchist tendencies as well as the exaggerated individualism which lie close to the extremer forms of Socialism. In the second place, and herein lies its main significance as far as Germany is concerned, it afforded Marx an opportunity for the propagation of his International and Communist principles on a scale which would scarcely have been possible in any other way. The real successors of the International are to be found not among the body of Anarchists who call themselves Internationalists, and whose further history belongs rather to Russia, to Spain, and to the United States than to Germany, but in the party from whom emanated the Erfurt programme of 1891 with its assertion of the injustice of private property, the necessity for international arbitration, the intimate relationship between the wage-earners of all lands, and the common obligation which lies upon them to effect the re-constitution of society. If the International in Europe ceased to exist in 1873, its spirit lives again in the Social Democrats of 1893 (2).

German Socialism.

(iii.) The Anarchist International.

The so-called International Association which immediately succeeded that of Marx was formed amongst the followers of Bakounin, and would have been better described as an association of revolutionary Anarchists. This modern Anarchist Party had been preceded by an older society of German Anarchists connected more or less closely with teachers who had drawn their inspiration from France. Proudhon may claim to have been the founder of the theory, since the famous treatise "Qu'est-ce que la propriété?" in which he answered, on lines afterwards adopted by Karl Marx, "La propriété, c'est le vol," also contains a description of an ideal society, wherein the individual is freed from all external restraint and enabled to follow his own inclinations. The theory of capital, which afterwards led Marx to collectivism, led Proudhon, therefore, to the extreme of individualism. His principles were adopted in Germany by Moses Hess, who, in a work published in 1843, preached the negation of all authority, whether in the spiritual or the social sphere, and the consequent abolition of Church and State. Another writer, Karl Grün, declared that in the future each man's work and enjoyment would be regulated by his individual needs alone. Socialist doctrines of an Anarchist type were widely diffused amongst the educated classes between 1842 and 1845. In Switzerland an Anarchist association was founded amongst German exiles, under the leadership of Wilhelm Marx, which contented itself with advocating the purely negative doctrine of the destruction of Church, State, property, and the institution of marriage, together with the one positive tenet of "a bloody and fearful revenge upon the rich and powerful." In 1845 this association was suppressed by the police. The efforts of these early Anarchists, however, fade into comparative insignificance when compared with the influence exerted by the Russian exile Bakounin, according to Laveleye, the inspirer of all the revolutionary Socialism of Europe since 1865. Born and bred in Russia, he had early contracted an inveterate hate of despotism, and at 32 years of age he left his native country for Germany, where he became a source of revolutionary excitement amongst the more extreme members of the Hegelian school of philosophy. In the following year he went to Paris, and came under the influence of Proudhon. Being expelled from that city, probably, as M. de Laveleye says, on account of the violence of his speeches, he returned to Germany, and took part in the insurrections of the spring of 1849. He was taken prisoner and condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted to perpetual imprisonment, and he was handed over to the Russian Government to undergo the penalty. In 1857 the Government of Alexander II. sent him to Siberia, whence he contrived to escape, and to embark to Japan, journeying afterwards by way of America to England, where he landed in 1861. In 1865 he began an agitation amongst the Italian peasants, and in 1868 he organised the Alliance of the Jura. His doctrines centred round the principle of enmity against every form of the State. The State, he said, implied government, and government postulated the existence of the governed; consequently every State was a destroyer of true freedom. Society should be composed of small independent groups of producers, constituted and dis-

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. IV. p. 591. Art. "Die Internationale," Adler. Laveleye, "Le Socialisme Contemporain," 1890, pp. 168-222. Lavollée, "Les Classes Ouvriers en Europe," 1884, Vol. I., pp. 267-274. Kirkup. "History of Socialism," 1892, pp. 155-182. v. Schönberg "Handbuch der Politischen Oekonomie," 1885, Vol. I., pp. 107-129. Meyer, "Der Emanzipationskampf des vierten Standes," 1882, Vol. I., pp. 116-193.

(2) Wagner, "Das Sozial-demokratische Programm," 1892.

solved at the pleasure of the individual members, but not endowed with the right of coercing a single producer. The immediate object of the social reformer must be the establishment of anarchy "in the sense of "the unloosing of all the passions now called evil and "the destruction of what the same class of speakers "call public order." Though Bakounin himself deprecated the taking of human life, his clear declaration that the social revolution could not be accomplished by secret societies, but demanded the convincing power of facts, was easily interpreted by his followers, especially by Netschaief, the apostle of Russian Nihilism, into a justification of the "propaganda of deed," explained in the "Revolutionary Catechism." This catechism defines the revolutionist as a man who has broken with all that might else have made life dear. "If his existence in this world is prolonged, it is only "to make destruction more certain. To him there is "but one joy, one comfort, one solace, one reward— "the success of revolution. Day and night he must "cherish but one thought, one aim—inexorable de- "struction. . . . . Whilst we permit no "other activity than that of destruction, we recognise "that the form in which this activity is exercised may "be manifold; poison, the dagger, the rope, all alike "are hallowed by the spirit of revolution." Indeed, Netschaief went further, and, in common with some of the later Anarchists, advocated wholesale assassination, and similar means of striking terror into the ranks of the *bourgeoisie* as desirable in themselves quite independently of the advantages likely to accrue from the removal of the individual victims. In the words of Dr. Paul Brousse, a person of weight in the Federation of the Jura, "deeds provoke universal comment; masses "of people hitherto indifferent rouse themselves to "inquire into the causes of the deeds, pay attention to "the new doctrine and discuss it. When they have "advanced to that point it is not difficult to make "converts amongst them." In 1874 the Anarchist seceders from the International called a general assembly at Brussels, which was chiefly remarkable for the address presented to it by the Italian Social Revolutionary Committee, in which they declared their conviction that the "secret path alone could conduct "them to their goal—the social revolution." The number of delegates taking part in the Brussels Congress did not exceed 20, and with three exceptions all were natives of Belgium. A congress held at Berne in 1876 was not more international in character, for it was mainly composed of delegates from the Federation of the Jura. In 1877 a Universal Congress of Socialists was held in Belgium, which was attended by Herr Liebknecht. Here the Anarchists were outvoted, and the second International came to an end (1).

(iv.) Later German Anarchists.

The German Anarchists under Johann Most formed originally the extreme left wing of the Socialist Party, and were organised in connexion with the Federation of the Jura between 1872 and 1876. After the passing of the law against the Socialists in 1878, they adopted an independent attitude and advocated abstention from political life or from taking part in elections, and secret preparation for the revolution. Most was expelled from Berlin and carried his organ, the "Freiheit," to London, where he continued to urge the necessity of energetic and secret agitation, combined with revolutionary outbursts and attempts at assassination. For this he was formally expelled from the Socialist Party, which he had persistently attacked; but he retained a certain number of supporters, at the most 200, divided into a few dozen Anarchist "groups." For his violent articles in the "Freiheit," after the assassination of the Czar, Alexander II., he was prosecuted in England and sentenced to 16 months' imprisonment. After the "Freiheit" had been the subject of a second prosecution and conviction no publisher could be found for it in London, and Most transferred it to America in 1882. There he continued to advocate what he called "guerilla warfare," and under the title of "revolutionary tactics" to publish recipes for the manufacture of nitroglycerine, infernal machines, poisons, and explosives of every kind. From thence, also, he continued to attack the German Social Democrats, who have never relaxed in their effort to discredit Anarchist principles and practices amongst the German working classes.

In 1886 the Chicago Anarchists decided to support the general strike on May 1st for an eight hours' day. On May 3rd there was a collision between the strikers and the police, resulting in the death of several strikers. An evening meeting was held the next night by the Anarchists, in which they resolved upon revenge, and during a second disturbance, which took place at the close of the meeting, a bomb shell was thrown among the police, killing several and wounding a large number. The result was a strong reaction of feeling against the Anarchists; the leaders who were known to have advised resort to force were arrested, and four of them were executed. Most himself was condemned to a year's imprisonment. For a time the party became completely disorganised; several of the clubs were disbanded, and the Chicago Anarchist newspapers passed into the hands of the Social Democrats. There has since been some recovery, and the propagandists have had considerable success among the Polish Jews; but the utterances of the party have become much milder, and both in England, in Germany, and in America the Anarchists are numerically unimportant as compared with the Socialists.(2)

(v.) International congresses.

Recently there have been signs of a movement towards Internationalism amongst both English trade unionists and continental Socialists, though the failure of the latter to understand the position of the former has led to a considerable amount of friction at the different congresses which have been held. In 1883 a conference of English, Spanish, Italian, and French representatives was held in Paris, and this was followed up by an International Trade Union Congress at Paris, in 1886, which was attended by one representative of German Socialism. The German Socialist created disorder by making an attack upon the English trade unionists in the person of Mr. Broadhurst, "who voted "in favour of coercion in Ireland, and accepted 35,000 "francs a year to be a member of a capitalist Cabinet. " . . . Such a scandal, said Herr Grimpe, would "not be tolerated in Germany." The small representation of Germany at this congress was explained by Herr Grimpe to be due to the existence of the law against the Socialists, which entitled the Chancellor to prohibit all foreign (and therefore international) societies, and rendered the collection of funds for the furtherance of Socialist or Communist efforts illegal. Consequently *bonâ fide* working men could not be assisted by their comrades to attend the congresses, and trade unionists dared not do so for fear of bringing their unions under the prohibitory clauses. The result of this was the exclusion of the would-be representatives of Germany from the International Trade Union Congress held in London in 1888, to which, according to the regulations of the Parliamentary Committee of the English Trade Union Congress, none but *bonâ fide* representatives of labour organisations were admitted. The proposed delegates consisted for the most part of the editors of German Socialist papers, and of members of what is known in Germany as "the Intellectual Proletariate." Mr. Shipton declared to the congress that no delegates had ever been proposed by Germany or Austria who had at any time been workmen and members of trade unions, and the records of this and of subsequent congresses show the continental representatives to belong in almost every case to the Socialist Party. The view held by these continental representatives of the English trade unionists is thus expressed in one of their pamphlets:—"Abroad strong "opinions are entertained that the leaders of the "English trade unions have wasted the best oppor- "tunities the working classes have ever possessed. "Nowhere are the working class organisations so free "and so strong as in England; nowhere have they "achieved so little; nowhere are the workmen in "theory and practice so far removed from any definite "solution of the labour problems. When by the side "of this it is seen that the English working class "leaders, instead of being imprisoned and prosecuted, "are, on the contrary, in the receipt of all manner of "favours at the hands of the middle class and capitalist "Governments, the foreign workmen, fresh from police "prosecution and from prison, conclude that the "English leaders cannot be leading in such a manner "as to menace and endanger the position of their "adversaries."

At the International Labour Congress held in Paris on the occassion of the hundredth anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, July 14th, 1889, Germany was more largely represented than in previous congresses. Eighty-one delegates were present from all parts of the Empire, with the exception of the province of Posen;

(1) Laveleye, "Le Socialisme Contemporain," 1891, pp. 214-284. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. I., p. 252. Art. "Anarchismus," Adler. Vol. IV., p. 561. Art. "Die Internationale," Adler. Kirkup, "History of Socialism," 1892, pp. 176-215

(2) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. I., p. 252. Art, "Anarchismus," Adler. *See also* Royal Commission on Labour, Foreign Reports, Vol. I., pp. 9, 10.

where the strict enforcement of the law against the Socialists made open election impossible, lists were circulated in factories and workshops, and, on the whole, it was stated that as many votes were recorded as in the election of deputies to the Reichstag. Herr Liebknecht in his opening speech disclaimed any share in the national antagonism between France and Germany on the part of the Social Democrats, and anticipated the best results from an international parliament of labour. He declared that "no one should be excluded who wished to co-operate in the work of liberation," a statement which has since been considerably modified owing to the attitude of the Anarchists in subsequent congresses. Alluding to the International Association of Working Men, he declared that he regarded the Paris congress and all similar movements as the direct result of its influence, though it had been extinct for over 15 years. The chief resolutions passed at this congress were in favour of the substitution of militia for a standing army, agitation for increased protection for labour, and an international demonstration on May 1st, to be organised in each country in such a manner as the national leaders of the Socialist Party might decide. A proposal to bind every nation to a universal strike in favour of eight hours was opposed by Herr Liebknecht, on the ground that the labour organisations were not yet sufficiently strong to bring such a movement to a successful issue. He also opposed a resolution demanding a general amnesty for persons convicted of political offences, basing his opposition on the fact that, whilst the German Government maintained its hostile attitude, any such demand on the part of the German Socialists would savour of cowardice. In August 1891 a further International Congress of Socialist Working Men was held at Brussels. and attended by 42 German delegates, including two women. The necessary credentials were declared to be adhesion to the Socialist Party, belief in the necessity of the organisation of labour, and a recognition of the advantages of political action and State intervention. By this last clause the Anarchists were definitely excluded; at the Paris congress two years before they had not been excluded until they disturbed the debates. The resolutions passed at the Brussels congress were very similar to those passed at Paris. The congress declared itself in favour of the establishment of a permanent labour department in each country to inquire into the condition of the working classes, and it refused to commit itself to any definite statement touching the attitude to be adopted by Socialists on the question of the persecution of the Jews. Otherwise it decided in favour of the better organisation of labour and the formation of international associations, and against war and such international relations as were likely to provoke it. It asserted the equality of the sexes and demanded the abolition of all legal disqualifications attaching to women. It condemned the system of piece-work and passed a resolution in favour of an international demonstration on the 1st of May almost precisely similar to that passed at Paris in 1889.

The International Socialist Congress held at Zurich in August 1893 differed little from those which preceded it in so far as the resolutions adopted were concerned, but was especially remarkable for the strength of the German and English representation, the determined attitude adopted towards the Anarchist Party, and the predominance which, under the influence of the Germans, was given to the followers of Karl Marx. Though almost all nationalities were nominally represented, neither here nor at any previous congress was there any real representation of the Russian working classes. The total number of delegates was 416, including 65 from Great Britain, 1 from Australia, 39 from Austria (including 5 Czechs), 18 from Belgium, 2 from Denmark, 2 from Spain, 3 from America, 38 from France, 6 from Holland, 10 from Hungary, 5 from Roumania, 1 from Russia, 1 from Servia, 1 from Norway, 92 from Germany, 9 from Poland, 2 from Bulgaria, and 21 from Italy.

As the result of the second day's voting, and owing mainly to the action of the English trade unionists and the German Social Democrats, it was decided, though not without a free fight, that the Anarchists should be excluded, and on the motion of Herr Bebel that the recognition of the necessity of political action, to which delegates were required to subscribe, should be interpreted to mean parliamentary political action. Throughout the deliberations of the congress two things were especially noticeable, the superior business capacity of the English delegates and the way in which they came to the front when it was necessary to take definite action in any one of the sections. Further, the need of a sworn official interpreter to enable the delegates to arrive at a better mutual understanding was strongly felt, especially in the case of the English. From the opening speech of Mr. Hobson onwards, it appeared to be too often the case that the translators seized upon a single sentence, and then used it as a text, and appending to it in perfect good faith a series of their own opinions, which did not in the least represent what the speaker had actually said. A resolution was passed in favour of an eight hours' day, coupled with a suggestion for the summoning of an international conference at the instance of the various European Governments. The German delegates opposed a motion brought forward by the Norwegian delegates and supported by M. Niewenhuis for Holland, in favour of a general strike against war in the event of the declaration of hostilities, on the ground that any such action on the part of the German Social Democrats would be to place Europe at the mercy of Russia. Similar views have been expressed by German Social Democrats in connexion with a possible war between Germany and France. An amendment submitted on behalf of the Belgian delegates was accepted, which pledged working men to do all in their power to prevent the further extension of militarism by withholding supplies wherever possible. The First of May celebrations were discussed, and Herr Bebel pointed out that any general suspension of work on that day was impossible in Germany, because of the laws against breach of contract. The congress also affirmed the necessity of extending the organisation of labour, and of achieving political ends by means of electoral campaigns and parliamentary action, as well as the advisability of introducing direct legislation by the people by means of the right of initiative and of veto. Protective legisltion for women was recommended, in spite of the attempt of Mr. Bernard Shaw, an English delegate, to introduce an amendment repudiating all legislation for women which did not also apply to men. On the last day a woman was the president, and it was finally decided that the next congress should be held in London in 1896. At the close of the congress, Herr Engels, the former colleague of Karl Marx, appeared and addressed the congress, which finally separated "amidst cheers for Internationalism " and the singing of the Marseillaise." Apart from the general sittings of the congress, minor meetings were organised amongst the members of certain industries, including railway servants, textile workers, tailors, shoemakers, metal workers, and workers in wood, with a view to the formation of international associations. The Congress of Railway Servants was attended by delegates from England, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Austria, Hungary, and Galicia. The Italians proposed an agitation for a minimum wage of four francs a day, but withdrew their proposal. Other proposals in favour of a minimum pension, and a commission of inquiry into the possibility of the nationalisation of railways were also withdrawn, and it was decided that the association should limit itself to such practical questions as the yearly number of rest days, the eight hours' shift, and the reduction of Sunday traffic, especially in goods. As a result of the conference an international secretary was appointed, with an office in Holland. The textile workers instituted a similar association, with its head-quarters at Stuttgart. Twenty-one delegates attended their conference, drawn from Germany, Austria, Belgium, France, England, and Switzerland. A resolution was passed in favour of the formation of strong organisations, so that a successful resistance might be made to the encroachments of capitalism. The congress declared against piece-work and professed itself ready to support strikes and to give aid to victimised members and to members in search of work. At the Trades Union Congress at Belfast the English delegates to Zurich reported that " the first three days were spent in purging the " congress of delegates representing purely Anarchist " societies. The resolutions passed were of a general " character, and the British delegation gave a unani- " mous invitation to the congress to hold its next " sitting in London, which it agreed to accept, and " decided that the same should be held in 1896." There was some difference of opinion as to these terms, but an amendment to omit the reference to the Anarchists was lost.[1]

[1] Pamphlets circulated at the Zurich Congress, 1893, and contemporary press accounts. Reports of International Labour Conferences, Paris, 1886, 1889, London, 1888, Brussels, 1891. Critical Essay on the London Congress by Adolf Smith. Reports of International Miners' Congresses, Jolimont, 1890, Paris, 1891, London, 1892. Current numbers of "Die Neue Zeit," 1893. Proceedings of Trade Union Congress, 1893.

d. Attitude of the educated classes towards Socialism. (i.) Older Academic Socialists.

The majority of German economists since 1870 have adopted, a sympathetic attitude towards the labour question, and though they are strongly opposed to the extreme views held by the Social Democrats, they are equally opposed to the laissez faire principles of their predecessors of the school of Schulze Delitzsch. The modified support which they have afforded to the principle of "State aid" as against the earlier principle of "Self help," gained for them the name of "Academic Socialists" (*Kathedersozialisten*), a name first applied to them in mockery by Herr Oppenheim, in an article in the "National-Zeitung" in 1871. According to Lange, one of the earliest of these Academic Socialists, the main principle of the preceding "Manchester" school was the restriction of State interference within the narrowest bounds, from which followed the doctrine of free trade as an indispensable condition of national wealth and the doctrine of freedom of migration. To the working classes it was pointed out that by the exercise of intelligence and self-control they might materially improve their condition, and that it was possible for each individual to work his way up into the ranks of the employers, whilst as a means to this material improvement Herr Schulze Delitzsch, a friend of the working classes, exerted himself in the establishment of co-operative undertakings (*see* p. 28). This theory of economics, as has been already indicated, was intimately connected with the views of the national liberals in politics. According to Lange, "State aid granted from above" was deprecated "from a fear of strengthening the Conservative party, "State aid extorted from below, from terror of the "democratic self-confidence of the labouring classes, "which such a victory would involve; in short, State "aid of any kind was avoided lest it should encroach "upon a region in which capitalist rule had held "uncontested sway." On the other hand, the economists, called by von Schönberg the "party of social reform," maintained against the Manchester school the "absolute necessity of a positive and far reaching "policy of interference on the part of the State with "the object of promoting the welfare of the labouring "classes," and against Socialism "the principle that "the individual is mainly responsible for his economic "status, and that the State should only intervene to "supplement the efforts of individual, class, or society, "when those efforts alone would not suffice to obtain "the desired and desirable economic and moral "conditions."

With this difference in the conception of the State was joined a difference in the method of approaching economic subjects. The older economists preferred the abstract and deductive method, the newer economists the historical method; hence whilst the first tended to consider the labour question in itself, with perhaps too little regard to existing conditions, the second regarded it as inseparable from the chief social and political conditions of the time. From this point of view the newer economists were struck by the growing contrast between the increase of national wealth in the aggregate and the miserable condition of a large proportion of the individuals composing the nation.(1) Regarding, as they did, all institutions as justified only in so far as they were adapted to a given state of society, they were prepared to take a different view of the rights and duties attaching to property from that held by the "orthodox economists." As M. de Laveleye says, "The great problem of our days, which is called "the social question," appeared to them "a question of re-distribution." Starting from this general conception, the economists, who in 1873 united to form the Economic Club (*Verein für Sozialpolitik*), differed considerably in matters of detail, and in the conclusions which they drew from their general premises. This association, of which Professor von Gneist was the first president, included, amongst others, Professors Schmoller Roscher, Brentano, Adolf Wagner, Lange, Schäffle, von Schönberg, Adolf Held, Nasse, Conrad, Knies, Knapp, von Holtzendorf and Neumann. It held a preliminary meeting at Eisenach in July 1872, and a larger meeting, which was attended by 158 members, in November of the same year. In 1873 the association was definitely constituted, and the meetings have since been held annually. At the November meeting of 1872 an inaugural address was delivered by Professor Schmoller, in which he thus described the principles of the society: "We do not demand either the suppression of industrial "freedom or the abolition of the wages system, but we "are not willing, out of deference to abstract principles, "to allow the most crying abuses to become daily more "crying, whilst so-called freedom of contract de-"generates into the exploitation of labour. We do "not ask the State to advance money to workmen for "the sake of making experiments which are foredoomed "to inevitable failure, but we do demand that it "should occupy itself in a very different fashion from "that in which it now occupies itself, with the instruc-"tion and education of the working classes, and that "it should see to it that their labour is not carried on "under conditions which must inevitably tend to "their degradation." Very many of the members of the Association, in common with the more recent Academic Socialists, looked to the development of the labour question in England as affording a historical example of the lines upon which any German movement towards the emancipation of labour must proceed. Several of the valuable reports drawn up by individual members and published under the auspices of the Association deal with English industrial institutions. On the whole, the Academic Socialists represent the moderate party, whether in politics or in social science, the party which, while recognising the value of State intervention, recognises also that "self-help" is an absolutely indispensable condition of economic progress, and to these two principles adds a third, that of the aid of society (*Gesellschaftshilfe*) or "the free exercise "of the beneficent and educating influence which "belongs to the cultivated classes."(1)

(ii.) N Acade Sociali

This last principle is given especial prominence by the younger and contemporary school of Academic Socialists, represented by such names as Dr. Herkner, Dr. von Schulze-Gavernitz, Dr. Max Sering, Herr Göhre, Professor von Philippovich and others, and in more or or less close conjunction with the later developments of Protestant Christian Socialism (*Evangelischsozialisten*). These writers recognise the great advance which has been made by the more violent form of Social Democracy, and hold that the danger can best be met by a greater diffusion of reliable information upon economic questions, and a more strenuous effort to bring the benefits of education within the reach of the classes called by the Socialists the proletariate. They lay stress upon the necessity, insisted upon by Lange especially amongst the older Academic Socialists, of not separating the material improvement of the working classes from their intellectual and moral improvement and of viewing economic developments in the light of contemporary thought. Herr Göhre, the General Secretary of the Christian Socialist Congress, goes further and urges the necessity of combating the inherent materialism of Social Democracy with the aid of the Church. He regards the labour question as less a "bread and wages question" than an "educational and religious question," and though in his opinion "contemporary Social Democracy can be as little uprooted as the modern labour movement," it "is possible, "desirable, and indeed indispensable that it should be "educated and ennobled." On the economic side these writers regard with approval the attempt to form associations in Germany on the lines of the English trade unions, and the introduction of legislative reforms. "That social reforms," says Dr. Herkner, "can bring "about a reconciliation between the working classes "and the existing Government, may be learned from the "examples of England, Switzerland, Australia and North "America. In all these countries there is no Socialist "party of any importance. . . . The watchword "for the future must be the formation of a new and "broader middle class through the gradual rise of the "working classes. England proves that this goal is not "unattainable, for there the members of the so-called old "trade unions form a new middle class and a strong "Conservative force." On the other hand, the leaders of the Social Democrats regard the Academic Socialists with indifference if not with contempt. "Social De-"mocracy can afford to look quietly on. In one way or "another it will attain its ends." Still the efforts made by the educated classes are regarded as indicating the growing importance of the party. "The writings of Herr "Herkner and others," says a Socialist writer in the "'Neue Zeit,'" are remarkable signs of the times. "Only compare them with the literature of Academic

(1) The German practice of transferring professors at frequent intervals from one university to another gave the Academic Socialists the opportunity of acquiring a wide knowledge of economic conditions. Thus, for instance, Professor Brentano and Professor Adolf Wagner have between them taught at Strasburg, at Munich, at Leipzig, at Vienna, at Dorpat and in Berlin.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV. p. 667. Art. "Kathedersozialismus," Lexis. Laveleye, "Le Socialisme Contemporain," 1891, pp. 336-333. v. Schönberg, "Handbuch der Politischen Oekonomie," 1885, vol. II. pp. 562-567. Lange, "Die Arbeiterfrage," 1865, pp. 336-392. Kirkup, "History of Socialism," 1892, p. 267. Meyer, "Der Emanzipations-kampf des vierten Standes," 1882, vol. I. pp. 57, 71, 78, 216.

Socialism in the seventies. Compared with the "proposals then made and the motives then prevailing the present writings of the Academic social reformers, with whom the Church and the bureaucracy have formed an alliance, may be called revolutionary. And yet barely half a generation has passed away."(1)

(iii.) The intellectual proletariate.

The more advanced among the Social Democrats regard with disfavour all attempts to indicate any road to social peace which does not proceed by way of a social revolution, and stigmatise as "mere trades unionism" (*Nurgewerkschaftlerei*) the attempt to form, as they call it, "an aristocracy of labour." Far from regarding it as probable that various sections of workmen may gradually be raised from the ranks of the proletariate, they are entirely convinced that those ranks are the inevitable destination of the existing middle classes. They point especially to the existence of an intellectual proletariate (*das gebildete Proletariat*) in proof of their assertion. Education, they declare, has now become a commodity, subject like other commodities to the law of supply and demand. Nor is it any longer a rare commodity. The demand of the social reformers, and especially of the Academic Socialists, for its diffusion has resulted in the growth of a large and increasing class of persons, both men and women, whose intellectual capacities are their only provision for the struggle of existence. These artists, musicians, writers, officials and others are described by a writer in the "Neue Zeit" as "the poorest of all the German proletarians," not the less poor "because whether from wilfulness or from ignorance they are sometimes unconscious of their position." Nevertheless, as has been said by a non-Socialist writer, Dr. Maurus, "The necessities and the discontent, especially of the so "called intellectual proletariate, render them at least "as dangerous to the State as the genuine wage-earners, "indeed more dangerous because of the greater "influence which higher culture and increased "political activity enable them to exercise." A large number of the Socialist leaders are recruited from amongst their ranks. At the first Congress of the International Workmen's Association, held at Geneva in 1866, a proposal for their exclusion, brought forward by the French delegates, was negatived on the ground that it would deprive the labouring classes of the greatest of their leaders, and that the intellectual proletariate suffered as much from the pressure of capital as any other class of workers.(2)

e. Attitude of the Church towards Socialism. (i.) Catholic Socialists.

The Catholic Church in Westphalia and the Rhine provinces early adopted a sympathetic attitude towards socialism, though it is strongly opposed to much of the teaching of the Social Democratic Party. In 1863, Dr. Döllinger advocated that the Church should concern itself with the social question, and in 1864 Monsignor von Ketteler, the bishop of Mayence, published a work, in which he plainly showed his sympathy with the doctrines of Lassalle. As a result of this teaching, associations were formed with the object of promoting the economic and moral welfare of the working classes. In 1868 three of these "Associations of Christian Socialists" held a meeting at Crefeld, and adopted as their organ a journal known as "Die Christlich-soziale Blätter." By 1869 the number of associations was largely increased, and a "permanent section" was appointed, including one of the leaders of the Ultramontane Party in Parliament, to preside over the existing associations and to encourage the formation of new ones. In 1870 the organisation of the Party was finally completed and the statutes of the associations drawn up. All were to be directly connected with the Church and under the patronage of St. Joseph; but the administration was to be in the hands of laymen. No member of a social democratic association could be admitted amongst the Christian socialists. In 1872, the numbers were largely augmented by the adhesion of the Catholic Artisans' Unions, organised in 1847 by an artisan named Kolping, and in 1872 numbering over 70,000 members. Certain unions of peasants in Westphalia, whose main object was the reduction of the term of military service, were in 1871 dissolved by a Ministerial decree, on the ground that they were political societies prohibited by law. They were immediately reconstituted under the presidency of Baron von Schorlemer-Alst, a member of the Catholic party of the Centre, and a vehement opponent of the anti-Catholic policy of Prince Bismarck. From this time, the Catholic or Christian socialist associations, under various names and with different objects, developed not only into a strong religious and economic, but into a strong political party, able when occasion served to throw the whole weight of its influence and of the powerful organisation which belongs to the Catholic Church, into the scale of conservative socialism.

Of its earlier leaders, Herr Moufang, a canon of the Cathedral of Mayence, is the most important after Monsignor von Ketteler; in later times Herr Wengel-Bamberg has taken a prominent part. The number and variety of the Catholic organisations makes an exhaustive list almost impossible; but Herr Rudolf Meyer enumerates amongst others, employers' unions, apprentices' unions, artisans' unions, unions for young factory operatives, miners' unions, peasants' unions both in Bavaria and Westphalia, Christian socialist unions, Catholic workmen's unions, Catholic workmen's benefit societies, artisans' productive co-operative societies, Catholic unions for servants and working women, unions for the dissemination of Catholic literature, credit and loan associations and building societies. The number of Catholic daily papers in 1882 was nine, and the number of deputies sent by the party to the Reichstag, 110. In 1891 a further National Association for Catholic Germany was founded under the auspices of the Archbishop of Cologne, and now numbers over 156,000 members. The party has not hesitated to ally itself at times with the Social Democrats; in 1878 the Catholic deputies voted in a body against the Socialist laws, and in the struggle with Prince Bismarck Catholics and Social Democrats joined forces at elections.

The programme most recently issued (1893) by a body of Catholic clergy, has much in common with Social Democracy and affirms the "right to labour" in the form of a remunerative, assured, and gradually rising scale of employment to be secured by law to the working classes. Hours are at the same time to be reduced, the factory laws are to be amended, and the right of workmen to form associations to be fully recognised.(1)

(ii.) Protestant Socialists.

To counterbalance the influence of the Catholic Church and to strengthen the popular affection for the monarchy, a Protestant Socialist movement was inaugurated in 1877 by Pastor Todt and Pastor Stöcker, Court Chaplain at Berlin. Two associations were founded, the Central Association for Social Reform (*Central Verein für Sozialreform*) by Pastor Todt, and the Christian Socialist Labour Party (*Christlich-soziale Arbeiterpartei*), by Pastor Stöcker. The first was composed of employers, professors, pastors, and men of education, the second of working men. Politically this party was opposed to the Liberals and the Manchester School, but unlike the Catholic Socialists it warmly supported Prince Bismarck and the Government. "The social question exists and can "only be solved by a strong and monarchical govern-"ment based on the religious and moral elements in "the life of the nation." Consequently the party advocated definite legislative reforms such as the creation of compulsory guilds for the protection of artisans, compulsory insurance, prohibition of child labour and of the labour of married women, a normal working day, increased taxation of luxuries, and similar measures. Its organ was the "Staats-sozialist," and at least in its earlier form it had much in common with Bismarckian State socialism. The action of Pastor Stöcker resulted in alienating many of his supporters. He became a warm supporter of Anti-Semitism, a movement which, according to Prince Bismarck, acts as a lightning conductor to the Socialist hatred of capitalists, and after some six years of existence under his leadership the first Protestant Socialist Party became discredited.

Christian socialism has since been developed by the newer Protestant Socialists (*Evangelisch-sozialisten*) in conjunction with the younger academic Socialists, and represents a growing force in the social life of Germany. Its object is to show that the social question is in the main a moral question, not to be solved on the lines of Social Democracy, and that "if

(1) Schulze-Gävernitz, "Zum Sozialen Frieden," 1890, vol. I., pp. vii.-xiii. Göhre, "Drei Monate Fabrikarbeiter," 1891, pp. 212-222. Philippovich, "Wirtschaftlicher Fortschritt und Kulturentwicklung," 1892. Herkner, "Die Soziale Reform als Gebot des wirtschaftlichen Fortschrittes," 1891, pp. 96-112. "Die Neue Zeit," 1891-2, No. 5, p. 152.

(2) Kautsky, "Das Erfurter Programm," 1892, pp. 48-56. "Neue Zeit," 1891-2, No. 1. Maurus, "Die Lösung der Arbeiterfrage aus dem Rechtsstandpunkte," 1890, pp. 60, 61. Kirkup, "History of Socialism," 1892. p. 170. Laveleye, "Le Socialisme Contemporain," 1891, p. 178.

(1) Laveleye, "Le Socialisme Contemporain," 1891, pp. 134-167. Lavollée, "Les Classes Ouvrières en Europe," 1884, vol. I., pp. 313-322. Meyer, "Der Emanzipationskampf des vierten Standes," 1882, vol. I., pp. 85-94, 347-368. Kirkup, "History of Socialism," 1892, pp. 269, 270. "Arbeiterwohl," No. 10, 11, 12, 1891. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. V. Art. "Die Katholisch-soziale Bestrebungen," Brüll. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II. 1892-3, p. 543.

" the Church is to fulfil her mission in the social " sphere, she must not stand aloof from those efforts " directed towards social peace which in many cases " may open the way for her work." To this end the Protestant Socialist Party have established tramp colonies, institutions for the protection of women, kindergartens for poor children, sewing schools, boys' clubs, lodging-houses for workmen out of employment, clubs for working men with insurance and benefit funds attached to them, and a number of similar institutions, which aim at the education of the working classes. A Protestant Socialist Congress has been held every year since 1890, and a scheme set on foot for the publication of a paper which shall combine theology and economics. The union of the two is the party's special characteristic, and it is said that Dr. Paul Göhre, the general secretary of the Congress, hesitated for some months as to which he should study, and finally decided to study them both.(1)

f. Attitude of the State towards Socialism. (i.) Conservative Socialists.

Conservative socialism in Germany was to a great extent the outcome of two separate movements, one amongst agriculturists and the other amongst artisans and small employers of labour. The period of commercial prosperity which succeeded the Franco-German war was in its turn succeeded by a period of commercial depression, the result of the extravagant speculation of the great capitalists. A strong anti-capitalist feeling was in consequence aroused in classes little inclined in any other respects to the principles of Social Democracy. The great landowners found it impossible to obtain the capital they needed to develop their estates, and the constant stream of migration from the country to the towns deprived them of the necessary labour. Similarly the small industrial employers were at a disadvantage compared with the great factory owners, and in common with the agriculturists they demanded that the Government should protect their industries by limiting freedom of trade. Both parties entered the lists against the liberal free-traders, the agriculturists in 1873, with an agrarian league which demanded equality of taxation, progressive reduction of indirect taxation and abolition of duties prejudicial to agriculture, together with an increase in the taxes upon capital and manufactured products. Their programme also included State ownership of railways, and a legal penalty for breach of the labour contract. The artisans for their part demanded the re-establishment of the guilds, the formation of industrial chambers, and the reform of industrial legislation, especially as regards provision for the maintenance of harmony between employers and employed. Whether on the agricultural or on the industrial side, therefore, Conservative socialism may be regarded as a re-action against the principles of liberalism. It has little in common with socialism strictly so-called except the demand for the extension of State activity, and far from aiming at the abolition of class legislation, it really requires the State to intervene for the protection of particular classes. According to Herr Rudolf Meyer, one of the chief exponents of Conservative socialism, the State should regulate the distribution of wealth in accordance with justice. To this end some limit ought to be placed to the amount of interest which may be exacted by capital, manufacturers' and bankers' profits should be heavily taxed, and the laws against usury should be revived. The State should compel manufacturers to build houses for their workpeople, it should limit the hours of labour, and pay high wages to its workmen, at the same time undertaking the control of as many industries as possible so that it may become the universal regulator of wages. It should also establish councils of prud'hommes for the settlement of industrial disputes.(2)

(ii.) State Socialists.

The State Socialists of the Bismarckian bureaucracy, together with the older academic and Protestant Socialists, acted on the principle that Social Democracy could best be combated by a policy of social reform, conceived and carried out by authority, but not necessarily involving any participation on the part of the workmen themselves. To this end the elaborate system of insurance against sickness, accidents, old age, and infirmity was introduced, the guild system was enlarged and improved (*see* p. 21), and Prince Bismarck declared in the Reichstag that he "would " favour every effort which had a positive tendency " towards the amelioration of the lot of the working " classes." Since the retirement of Prince Bismarck from public affairs there has been a greater tendency to encourage the organisation of workmen and to allow a larger degree of freedom to the labour movement. Besides permitting the law against the Socialists to lapse, the Emperor William II. took the lead in organising an International Labour Congress in 1890, and on the occasion of the great miners' strike in Westphalia, he interposed in person for the purpose of effecting a settlement. The Congress resulted in fresh legislation for the protection of labour, more particularly the labour of women and children. But as it did not effect any general limitation of working hours, except on Sundays, it was regarded by the Socialists as of little account. Indeed it does not yet appear that the Social Democratic Party has done very much to meet the advances of the Government, or that the hold which that party has upon the German working classes has been in any way weakened. On the contrary, the party seems to be rapidly increasing in strength, and it may be that, in the words of Herr Rudolf Meyer, "German Social Democracy will accept " every concession without any thanks and will convert " it into a fresh weapon against the giver." This, however, applies rather to the criticisms directed by the Socialist press against the Government's labour legislation than to the general attitude of the party. This legislation is the main hope of the new bureaucracy, who show, perhaps, a greater inclination to overrate its beneficent character, and to underrate its manifold defects (*see* p. 83) than might be expected from a less interested body of critics. Still the present policy of the German Government is unmistakeably in favour of a moderate amount of liberty of organisation for the working classes, together with the introduction from time to time of measures for the promotion of their welfare.(1)

g. Present position and influence of Socialist parties.

The position and influence of Socialist parties in Germany at the present day has been clearly indicated during 1893, both by the results of the elections of the Reichstag and by the determined and conservative attitude adopted by the German delegates at the Zurich Congress. The dissolution of the Reichstag on its refusal to pass the Army Bills introduced by the Government necessarily made the question of national defence one of primary importance during the elections of June 1893; but the struggle was mainly remarkable for the number of side issues introduced, the prominence given to Anti-Semitism, and the widespread disintegration occasioned amongst the older political parties. The extent to which this subdivision was carried is clear from the fact that Social Democracy, with an aggregate vote of 1,800,000 out of a male population some fifteen times as great, could claim to be the strongest individual party in the empire. The increase of the Socialist vote from 780,000 in 1887 to 1,427,000 in 1890, and 1,800,000 in 1893, is ascribed by the leaders of the party mainly to the multiplication of their adherents in the larger towns. In the report which they presented to the Zurich Congress they give the following statistics of the relative votes in 1878, 1890, and 1893:—

Place.	1878.	1890.	1893.
Berlin	51,164	123,317	151,122
Hamburg	29,629	67,303	70,552
Breslau	13,065	21,555	26,205
Munich	5,249	28,218	29,907
Dresden	17,303	25,079	29,455
Leipzig	5,822	12,921	11,784
Cologne	2,189	10,646	12,093
Magdeburg	6,253	17,261	16,633
Frankfurt-am-Main	4,080	12,663	13,482
Königsberg	1,108	12,370	10,964

(1) Laveleye, "Le Socialisme Contemporain," 1891, pp. 112-133. Lavollée, "Les Classes Ouvrières en Europe," 1884, vol. I. pp. 322-28. Kirkup, "History of Socialism," 1892, p. 270. Wagner, "Das Sozialdemokratische Programm," 1892. Meyer, "Der Emanzipationskampf des vierten Standes," 1882, vol. I. p. 95. "The New World," December 1892. Art.: "The Church in Germany," by J. Graham Brooks. Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung," vol. XVII. No. 1. Art.: "Die Evangelisch-soziale Bewegung in Deutschland," Grossmann. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. V. pp. 758, 762. Arts.: Evangelisch-soziale Bestrebungen," Uhlhorn; and "Neuere Evangelisch-soziale Bestrebungen," Baumgarten.

(2) Lavollée, "Les Classes Ouvrières en Europe," 1884, vol. I. pp. 281-290, 328-341. Laveleye, "Le Socialisme Contemporain," 1891, pp. 93-111. Kirkup, "History of Socialism," 1892, pp. 274, 275. Meyer, "Der Emanzipationskampf des vierten Standes," 1882, vol. I. pp. 363-430. Wolf, "Internationale Sozialpolitik," 1889, p. 6.

(1) Lavollée, "Les Classes Ouvrières en Europe," 1884, vol. I. pp. 328-341. Laveleye, "Le Socialisme Contemporain," 1891, pp. 93-111. Meyer, "Der Emanzipationskampf des vierten Standes," 1882, vol. I. p. 476. Report of the Brussels International Congress, 1891. Report of the Berlin Conference, 1890.

Place.	1878.	1890.	1893.
Hanover	6,588	15,789	19,538
Stuttgart	4,136	10,446	13,340
Bremen	6,304	14,843	14,572
Düsseldorf	486	8,228	9,367
Nüremberg	10,162	17,045	18,015
Danzig	114	3,525	4,265
Strassburg	141	4,773	6,206
Chemnitz	9,899	24,641	23,296
Elberfeld-Barmen	11,325	18,473	19,005
Altona	11,662	19,533	20,448
Stettin	914	7,759	9,586
Aix-la-Chapelle	909	1,744	3,029
Krefeld	467	3,030	3,730
Brunswick	7,876	13,621	15,470
Halle	1,046	12,808	12,991
Lübeck	1,588	6,393	7,339

Districts which, under the Socialist law, were declared to be in the so-called "minor state of siege," (*kleiner Belagerungszustand*) voted as follows:—

Electoral District.	1878.	1890.	1893.
Niederbarnim (Brandenburg).	2,775	13,362	17,044
Charlottenburg (Berlin)	4,763	19,169	31,424
Potsdam-Spandau	—	3,977	10,140
Harburg	1,763	6,860	9,055
Oltensen-Pinneberg	5,452	10,820	13,097
Lauenburg	347	2,072	3,287
Leipzig (district)	11,253	30,127	33,349
Offenbach-am-Main	5,557	10,343	11,063
Spremberg	1,242	5,610	6,542

The leaders of the party claim that, though the increase has been greatest in the large towns and their immediate neighbourhood, the elections of 1893 are also remarkable for the advance which they show in the purely rural districts. The following statistics are given for the more agricultural provinces:—

Province.	1878.	1890.	1893.
Brandenburg (exclusive of Berlin).	15,009	83,331	128,606
Pomerania (in 1881)	1,069	20,631	37,308
Mecklenburg	2,070	28,235	32,220
Bavaria	22,532	101,100	125,952
Alsace Lorraine	141	19,157	44,885

Neither Bavaria nor Alsace-Lorraine can be described as purely agricultural, but 80 per cent. of the Bavarian population belong to the class of small peasant farmers, and that class is also numerously represented in Alsace-Lorraine. The Social Democrats are especially gratified by their success in these two provinces, because they regard it as an indication of the diminution of the power of the Catholic Church over the labouring classes. In the same spirit they rejoice over the growing adhesion of the miners in Western Germany, which had previously been largely under Catholic influence. They point out also, that at the time of year at which the elections took place, the population of the agricultural provinces is considerably less than it would be in the winter, owing to the fact that numbers of agricultural labourers migrate during the summer to the North-Western provinces. The successes of the party in Saxony during the elections to the Reichstag lead its supporters to anticipate a considerable increase in the number of representatives to be elected to the Saxon Landtag at the forthcoming elections. In June 1893, the Social Democratic vote was 273,000, and the Anti-Semitic vote 116,013, whilst Conservatives, National Liberals and Radicals together only numbered 200,000. The Socialists gained five seats at the elections to the Bavarian Landtag, and it is expected that they will gain one if not two in Baden. The numerical strength of the party in the Reichstag has increased from 11 in 1878 to 36 in 1890, and 44 in 1893.

It is not, however, the numerical strength alone of Social Democracy which constitutes its peculiar importance in contemporary German politics; it is the steadying influence which the strict discipline and organisation necessitated by Prince Bismarck's repressive policy exercise upon the German workmen. The conservative attitude of Herr Liebknecht, Herr Bebel, and the Socialist leaders generally, could not be more clearly proved than by the fact that they have drawn upon themselves the same charges of cowardice and lukewarmness in the cause of the proletariate which, at an earlier stage, the Continental Socialists generally brought against the English trade unionists. Though the main body of the German socialists render the most implicit obedience to their leaders, and, as the Zurich Congress showed, are prepared to vote against all violent and revolutionary measures, a small section of malcontents with Anarchist leanings, known as the "Jungen," complain bitterly that "the chiefs of the "Social Democratic party, who are idolised beyond "measure by their credulous companions, have so "corrupted the old movement of the proletariate that "it has degenerated into a mere parliamentary policy "of reform, which is in itself ridiculous." The cautious attitude of the leaders with regard to the 1st of May demonstrations, both in 1892 and 1893, is especially obnoxous to the "Jungen," and they speak scornfully of a party "which counts its progress by its successes at the elections." These "Jungen" were formally expelled from the party at the Erfurt Congress of 1891, on the ground that they had brought libellous accusations against the leaders, which they were unable or unwilling to prove. Nothing can be clearer from the action of the party as a whole than that it desires to dissociate itself from all Anarchist principles, and this attitude was consistently maintained at the Zurich Congress. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that the consolidation, begun under Prince Bismarck's repressive legislation, which was, in my opinion, as necessary in its time as the subsequent liberal policy of his successor, will be continued under the present Government. That Herr Bebel, in the interests of his party, will exercise his influence in the same direction appears more than probable from the tone which he adopted at the Congress. But, in the face of the principles enunciated in the Erfurt programme, and in view of the recent successes of the party at the polls, it is abundantly clear that all the non-Socialist elements in Germany will find themselves obliged to combine, and that here, as elsewhere, the political, as well as the social, struggle of the future will be between a united Conservative, or non-Socialist, Party on the one hand, and the Social Democratic, or Radical, Party on the other. As far as it is yet possible to trace the underlying tendencies in the economic development of Germany, it appears probable that the organisation of labour will proceed upon Socialist, and at the same time non-revolutionary, lines; but that the growing power of Socialism amongst the German working men will of necessity put an end to the present disintegration of religious and political parties.(1)

3.—*Trade Associations.*

Though, at first sight, the classification of trade associations in Germany appears a task of peculiar difficulty, owing to the number and variety of the forms which they assume, the foregoing survey of the social and political aspects of the labour question throws some light upon the development of the associations. Three main factors can be distinguished in the movement towards the organisation of labour, the "Conservative" desire to erect bulwarks against the dangers which threaten Church or State, the "Liberal" desire to foster the growth of organisations as a means of attaining complete economic development, and the anxiety on the part of the Social Democratic, or revolutionary, party to use every means in their power to bring about a reconstitution of society. To the first of

(1) Reports presented to the Zurich Congress, 1893. Report of the Brussels Congress, 1891. Herr Bebel himself stated at the Zurich Congress, in so many words, that it was the repressive policy of Prince Bismarck which had driven him and his friends to forsake revolutionary tactics for their present policy of Parliamentary action.

The movement on the part of the Ultramontane members for Alsace-Lorraine towards a formal fusion with the party of the Centre in the Reichstag mentioned in the "Times" of October 23rd, 1893, is an incidental confirmation of the view here stated.—G. D.

these factors Germany owes the revival by the Conservative, or State Socialist, Party of the mediæval guilds with their unsuccessful attempt to arrest the inevitable decay of the lesser industries, and the formation by the Catholic and Protestant Socialists alike of societies which strive to effect social reforms within the pale of the Church. To the second, or Liberal, factor were due the co-operative societies and loan and benefit funds, the first attempt to organise working men on other than mediæval lines, and though the reproach has been brought against Herr Schultze-Delitzsch and his followers that their principle of "self-help" and non-interference on the part of the State tended rather to the protection of the manufacturer than to that of the workman, this cannot be urged in the case of the trade unions (*Gewerkvereine*) on the English model, or of the workmen's committees organised by the more progressive Liberals, and favoured by the Academic Socialists. The third, or revolutionary, factor has resulted in the formation of the workmen's associations (*Gewerkschaften*), the local unions (*Fachvereine*), and the Socialist clubs, which together constitute apparently the most powerful element in the present labour movement. With regard to the relative importance of the other two factors, there are, as has been stated, indications that the Conservative tendency, at any rate amongst the State and the Protestant Socialists, is giving way. Certainly the combination of socialist with individualist principles is the leading characteristic of the younger school of economists, who are most in sympathy with the present tendencies both of the German Church and the German Government. Viewed in this light, the existence of mediæval guilds side by side with associations of Social Democrats, and of combinations of employers framed on the lines of State Socialist protective legislation in conjunction with trade unions avowedly organised on the principle of English individualism, finds adequate explanation. At the same time it is clear that this division of parties and of interests is responsible for the fact that no one form of organisation in Germany has attained to anything like the importance or the strength of the English trade unions and employers' associations, and that organised labour bears a far smaller proportion than in England to the total labour force of the country.(1)

a. Associations of employers. (i.) The Guilds. Early history.

The mediæval guilds (*Zünfte*), the predecessors of the present guilds (*Innungen*), were divested of their exclusive character under the Government of Frederick William I., who was convinced that the existence of monopolies and of privileged corporations was prejudicial to trade. The tendency of Prussian and German legislation throughout the 18th century was towards industrial freedom. The Prussian law of 1794, which regulated handicrafts and guilds, confined the right of granting a concession for a new manufactory to the State, and thus deprived the guilds of one of their most ancient privileges. In 1806 an Order in Council proclaimed the abolition of all guilds and corporations in the linen and cotton weaving industries of East, West, and North-East Prussia, and a further Order of 1813 annulled all contracts inconsistent with industrial freedom. Though existing guilds were left untouched, membership was made optional by a law of 1811.

There were, however, many reactions in favour of the limitation of industrial freedom, especially amongst employers. The Prussian Industrial Code of 1845, which only recognised the guilds as voluntary trade associations, met with strong opposition. Congresses of employers were held at Hamburg and at Frankfurt-am-Main to protest against the Code, and to demand the repeal of the existing industrial legislation, the establishment of compulsory guilds, the narrower restriction of the rights of employés, and the stricter regulation of manufactures. On the other hand, a Workmen's Congress held the same year, demanded industrial freedom, security of work, a responsible Minister of Labour, Chambers of Commerce, the abolition of internal customs dues and of the guild system, a working-day of 12 hours including meal-times, and a fixed minimum wage. In consequence of these demands the Government appointed a Commission to consider the matter, and issued an Order in Council establishing district Councils of Industry to protect the interests of trade. These Councils proved unsuccessful, and were soon abolished. In the remaining German States the guild system was gradually modified, and between 1860 and 1870 industrial codes, founded upon the principle of industrial freedom, were generally adopted. In 1869 the North German Industrial Code, now known as the Reichs-Gewerbe-Ordnung, was passed by the North German Reichstag, and in 1872 it was extended to the whole German Empire. It included regulations for existing guilds, but these guilds were composed entirely of small, independent employers (*Meister*). The movement in favour of including the employed (*Gesellen*) began in Hamburg in 1874 with the avowed object of improving the relations between the two industrial parties. A guild of dyers was accordingly founded in Hamburg, to be governed by a committee, on the principle of the English joint committees, consisting of an equal number of representatives of the employers and employed with equal rights. This attempt was followed by others, but the fear which the employers entertained of the results likely to follow from the numerical superiority of the employed resulted in the failure of this method of conciliation. The idea was for the time abandoned, though it re-appeared in another form in the provisions of the law of 1881, which enjoin the formation of workmen's committees to represent the employed before the guild.(1)

Provisions of the Code of 1869.

According to the Industrial Code of 1869 all existing guilds are confirmed and placed on a voluntary basis. Members may leave the guild at will, and none but those who have been permanently or temporarily deprived of civic rights can be refused admission, provided that they are prepared to pay the entrance fee and to submit themselves to any tests of efficiency instituted by the guilds. The entrance fee must be uniform for all members, but if it exceeds five thalers it requires the authorisation of the district authorities. The guild is represented by its committee of management, and this committee has complete control over its affairs, subject to the approval of the communal authorities in questions concerning real property. These authorities decide disputed questions, and have the right to be represented at important guild meetings. For any change of statutes or for the dissolution of the guild the authority of the district administration is required, and in the latter case all property other than that derived from the contributions of members reverts to the commune, unless otherwise determined by statute, to be applied by the commune to the discharge of the guild's liabilities, the maintenance of any institutions which the guild has established, and similar purposes.(2)

Provisions of the Amendment Act of 1881.

In 1881 the gradual decay of the handicrafts and the difficulties connected with apprenticeship led to an attempt to resuscitate the guild organisations, which had fallen into neglect. This measure was advocated by the friends of the lesser industries on the ground that nothing less could afford these industries the necessary protection against factory competition. Though the Government refused to introduce an extreme measure such as the establishment of compulsory guilds on the ground of their tendency to impose artificial checks upon the natural course of industrial development, the additions made to the Industrial Code by the law of July 18th, 1881, were intended to encourage the formation of voluntary guilds, and to convert them into instruments of industrial self-government. Though no remedy could be provided for the disastrous effect upon small industries of factory competition, it was hoped that the fuller privileges granted to the guilds would ensure the better regulation of apprenticeship, and thus maintain the standard of the handicrafts. The Amendment Act of 1881, therefore, provided that, in addition to the old guilds, new guilds might be formed with the fourfold object of maintaining the standard of work in an industry and promoting its interests, establishing harmonious relations between employers and employed, regulating contracts with apprentices and providing for their technical education, and deciding disputes between members and their apprentices. Besides the pursuit of these main objects, the guilds are empowered to perform certain subsidiary functions. They may

(1) *See* references on pp. 21-27 and authorities there cited; *also* Wörishoffer, "Die Sociale Lage der Fabrikarbeiter in Mannheim," 1891, pp. 340-383.

(1) Braun, "Arbeiter-schutzgesetze der Europäischen Staaten," 1890, pp. 1-49. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 586. Art.: "Die Innungen," Stieda.

(2) Jacobi, "Die Innungen," 1882, pp. 10-16. Reichs-Gewerbe-Ordnung, Titel VI., sects. 81-96, pp. 90-100.

institute technical schools for the education not only of apprentices but of masters and journeymen; they may establish examinations, and give certificates of proficiency; and they are further entitled to introduce common industrial regulations binding upon their members. Sick funds may be established for the benefit of members as well as of their workmen and apprentices, and the guilds are specially charged with the duty of forming boards of arbitration. The workmen, though not eligible for guild membership, are to be represented in dealings with the guild. In the model statutes drawn up officially this was provided for by means of a workman's committee, to negotiate with the guild committee on all disputed points as to the conditions of work, express the views of the workmen on important points, such as the management of funds for their benefit, and criticise any bye-laws affecting their interests. The guilds may be either trade guilds (*Fachinnungen*) or mixed guilds (*Gemischte-innungen*). The latter were constituted in districts where the members of a given trade were too few to support a separate guild, and where, therefore, several trades combined to their common advantage in the maintenance of sick-funds, technical schools, shelters for the unemployed, and similar guild institutions. Where there are several guilds in one locality the law of 1881 enables them to place themselves under a common administration by forming a joint guild committee (*Innungs-auschuss*) which conducts the general business of the guilds. The powers of such a committee are not fixed by statute; they depend upon the authority delegated to the committee by the separate guilds electing it. In order to consolidate the guild system still further the law provides for associations (*Innungs verbände*), either of guilds belonging to one industry in different trades, or of guilds belonging to different industries in one district. The Boards of Arbitration to be constituted by the guilds must consist of a president and at least two assessors representing respectively the employers and the employed, and elected by those whom they represent. The parties elected cannot refuse to serve except on grounds which would render them ineligible for trusteeship of any kind. So far the authority of the new guilds was confined to the control of their own members, but by certain further provisions of the law this authority might, in some special instances, be extended to non-members. Guilds, which confine their activity to the regulation of apprenticeship and have achieved success in this line of action, may be given permission by the district authorities to decide a dispute between a master and an apprentice, when appealed to by either of the disputants, even where the master is not a member of the guild. These guilds may also be empowered to subject all apprentices within their district to an examination conducted by a board, half the members of which are elected by the guild and half by the district authorities. These provisions have been the subject of severe criticism on the part of the friends of industrial freedom, but the so-called compulsory powers which they give to the guilds are, it will be observed, confined within exceedingly narrow limits.(1)

Present position of the Guilds.

Statistics show that the guild form of organisation finds more supporters in the north of Germany than in the south. Out of 10,223 guilds with 321,219 members in the German Empire as a whole, 7,823, with 226,049 members, belong to Prussia. These guilds include, according to the Kösen Congress of Artisans, about one-tenth of all the artisans of Germany. In South and West Germany there is a decided inclination in favour of mixed guilds, but the General Association of German Artisans at Berlin regards mixed guilds with disfavour. Their advantages in small and thinly populated districts are, however, undeniable. The further step in organisation required for the formation of guild committees had, by December 1st, 1887, been taken in 63 cases; by December 1st, 1890, the number of these committees had risen to 133, but their formation is said to be slow, owing to the uncertainty attaching to their powers. The Central Committee of the Union of Associated Guilds tries to promote their formation by supplying model rules free of cost. Associations of trade guilds in one industry, such as the "Germania" Association of Bakers, which includes 860 towns, are 25 in number. The greater power due to the larger means and wider sphere gained by association is incidentally shown by the fact that the "Germania" has succeeded in making apprenticeship compulsory. The "Sächsischer Innungsverband," established on January 18th, 1888, which includes 252 guilds, with 10,600 members, is a good example of the territorial form of association. An official inquiry made in 1890 into the working of the law of 1881 in Prussia brought out the fact that almost all existing guilds had provided for the representation of the interests of their workmen by means of a workman's committee, and the effect of this measure in introducing a better understanding between employers and employed in small industries must not be overlooked. A certain section amongst employers in small industries still desire to see the formation of guilds as well as of the further associations provided for by the law of 1881 made compulsory. They desire also the creation of chambers of guilds and of an Imperial Guild Office to control the whole set of institutions. These proposals, however, to invoke State support for industries, which are losing ground through natural causes, do not meet with any large measure of favour even amongst those who practise these industries, and were repudiated by the Artisans' Congress in 1892.(1)

(ii.) Trade associations (*Berufs-genossens-chaften*) in connexion with the Insurance law.

In accordance with the Accident Insurance Law of July 1884, and the further amendments of May 1885, May 1886, and July 1887, employers are united into trade associations (*Berufsgenossenschaften*) for mutual insurance with respect to the payment of the indemnities to which workmen, who meet with any injury not deliberately self-inflicted, are entitled. Under the original law of 1884, 62 such associations were formed amongst employers in manufacturing and transport industries; 28 of these were for the German Empire as a whole, whilst the remainder were more local in character. Thus, whilst employers in certain industries, such as that of mining, are all united in one national association, other trades are represented by a number of local associations, the textile trades, in particular, by seven. The extension of the law in 1886 to agriculture and forestry called into existance a number of agricultural associations, 22 in 1888 and 26 in 1889. These associations are, for the most part, limited to smaller districts than those controlled by the industrial associations; in Prussia the sphere of their operations is confined to the district (*kreis*). The Amendment Act of 1887 created a Marine Association and an association of well diggers, so that the total number of industrial associations at present in existence is 64, and that of agricultural associations 48. The former class include about 360,000 establishments, employing 4,500,000 workmen, and the latter class nearly 4,000,000 establishments with more than 8,000,000 workmen insured. Membership in these associations is compulsory, and begins for every employer on the day on which he opens his establishment or takes possession of his farm. The associations are under the control of the Imperial Insurance Office, but enjoy a large share of self-government. There must be a Committee of Management and a general meeting, either of all the members or of their delegates; large associations may be sub-divided into sections, with sectional committees, sectional meetings, and trustees. At the present time the number of general committees is 112, of sectional committees 915, and of trustees 16,000. (For details as to the contributions levied and indemnities paid, *see* pp. 75–79.)

The associations may issue regulations regarding the protection of machinery and the adoption of certain appliances, or of working rules, for the prevention of accidents. Many have availed themselves of this privilege to a large extent; the regulations of the Rhenish Westphalian Blast-furnacemen and Iron Smelters' Association extend to 213 paragraphs, and those of the Ironworkers' Association of South-West Germany form a pamphlet of 70 pages. Employers who do not conform to the associations' regulations may be punished by the exaction of higher contributions, whilst workmen neglecting them are liable to a fine. The insurance law provided for the representation of the employed in connexion with these associations, as well as for the establishment of boards of arbitration. It is only amongst industrial employers, however, that there has been any determined effort to comply with these regulations. Representatives of the workmen

(1) Reichs-Gewerbe-Ordnung, Titel VI., sects. 26, 97–104, pp. 100–133. Jacobi, "Die Innungen," pp. 17–51. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 586. Art.: "Die Innungen," Stieda.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 586. Art.: "Die Innungen," Stieda.

chosen from the Committee of Management of the Sick Insurance Fund (*see* p. 74) are elected to serve as assessors on the boards of arbitration, to sanction the measures adopted for the prevention of accidents, and to take part in the election of members for the Imperial Insurance Office from every association or section of an association. The boards of arbitration are composed of a permanent president, who must be a Government official appointed by the central authorities of the district and four assessors, two elected by the association and two by the representatives of the workmen. Appeal from the decisions of this board may be made to the Imperial Insurance Office. The number of boards of arbitration at present constituted is 999, whilst the number of workmen's representatives with a voice in the affairs of the trade associations is 4,000.

When the Insurance Law was passed it was regarded by many of the friends of the labour movement in Germany as likely to result in the growth of a spirit of conciliation amongst employers and employed. To this end the representation of the workmen was insisted on, and in the constitution of the Imperial Insurance Office itself such representation was recognised. Over and above four temporary members elected by the Federal Council and certain permanent members, the office includes representatives of the Trade Associations and of the insured workmen. This conjunction of the two industrial parties, together with the provision made for the representation of workmen in the separate Associations, was intended to prepare the way for handing over to the Associations the control of a number of matters connected with labour, such as insurance against old age and infirmity, health regulations, the restriction of the labour of women and children, and the supervision of factory regulations. These expectations have, however, been so far disappointed, and the Associations do not as yet control anything beyond the accident insurance funds.(1)

(iii.) Other associations.

Combinations of employers for the purpose of mutual defence against workmen on strike have been formed in certain districts of Germany. The earliest example is that of the master printers who, as early as 1848, formed themselves into an organisation for the purpose of resisting the demands of the first National Union of Printers. This organisation appears, however, to have been of an informal and temporary character, and the first formal employers association called into existence by the attitude of the organisations amongst the employed was the National Association of Master Printers founded in 1869. In 1873, this association declared a general lock-out of unionist printers, but the lock-out was only partially carried out, and eventually (*see* p. 25) the two parties came to an agreement on the question of wages which was in dispute. This National Association of Master Printers aims, according to certain resolutions passed at Frankfort in 1874, at the promotion of the material and moral interests of German printers, both employers and employed. It undertakes to represent the trade in connexion with the State and the general public, and to regulate the relations between employers and employed by means of joint boards of conciliation. Its other objects include the regulation of apprenticeship and the establishment of technical schools, as well as the maintenance of a fund for necessitous master printers or their widows and orphans, and together with the workmen of sick, widows, and travelling benefit funds. Every owner or responsible manager of a printing establishment or type foundry may become a member on assenting to the rules and paying a definite entrance fee. The management is in the hands of an executive committee of three members, and of the president of the district associations. The executive committee conducts the correspondence and keeps the accounts of the association, and may undertake obligations on behalf of the whole body. There is a general meeting once a year at which all members of the association may be present; but the right of voting is confined to the executive committee, and to the delegates of the district associations. Between 1877 and 1885, the Master Printers' Association decreased in numbers and in influence, but after the passing of the Imperial Accident Insurance Law of 1884, the interest of its members revived. The master printers were the first to organise themselves into the trade association (*Berufsgenossenschaft*) required by the law, and their members have since made a determined attempt to put an end to the competition of small employers, and to the undue multiplication of apprentices. The membership of the association has increased rapidly, but it is still unable to secure universal observance of its rules on the part of members.(1)

Similar though less powerful combinations have been formed amongst employers in other industries. The period 1888-9 is especially remarkable in this respect, and was characterised by an increasing number of lock-outs. Employers in the engineering trade had become organised much earlier, and were especially active in black-listing strikers about 1875. The United Iron-masters locked out their men in 1889, and a similar policy has been adopted by employers in other industries. After a widespread strike in February 1890, the woollen manufacturers of Cottbus, in Prussia, entered into an agreement to close their factories simultaneously in the event of any fresh trouble, and not to re-open them until some general settlement had been agreed upon. A guarantee, proportioned to the amount of looms in his mill, was required from every manufacturer, and the total sum thus deposited amounted to 25,000*l*. The men were notified of this decision amongst the employers by means of placards posted in the factories. Similar combinations of employers were formed in most of the industrial centres of the province of Brandenburg about the same period; but few cases occurred in which they were called upon to take action against the men. A strike of 600 leather workers in Barmen during March 1890, for the abolition of piece work, a maximum day of 10 hours and a minimum wage of 18*s*. a week, induced the employers to combine, and the men were obliged to return to work on less favourable terms.(2)

b. Associations of employed. (i.) Trade unions (*Gewerkvereine*). Early history.

The establishment of trade unions in Germany on any extended scale was due to the admiration felt for their English prototypes by the school of Liberal economists and friends of the labour party represented by Dr. Max Hirsch, who stood in 1868 midway between the Social Democrats on the one hand, and the bureaucracy or Conservative Socialists on the other. Two trade unions had, however, been previously established by Herr Fritzsche, a follower of Lassalle, namely the German Union of Tobacco Workers in 1865, and the Union of German printers in 1866. In 1868 Dr. Max Hirsch published the result of an inquiry which he had made in person into the constitution and procedure of the English trade unions, with a view to initiating a movement in favour of similar organisations in Germany. Before, however, Dr. Hirsch had had time to proceed further, the followers of Lassalle under Herr von Schweitzer and Herr Fritzsche, who had been already active in the matter of organisation, issued a notice for a German Labour Congress to be held at Berlin in September 1868, to discuss all matters connected with strikes. At this Congress the Socialist leaders advocated the formation of workmen's associations (*Gewerkschaften*, *see* p. 26), for the purposes of propagating the principles of Social Democracy, and organising wide-spread strikes for the attainment of its objects. The delegates sent by the Berlin engineers, who were opposed to such organisations, were refused a hearing and turned out of the Congress, whereupon they were followed by the representatives of the Berlin painters and Danzig engineers, and together drew up an indignant protest against this "appeal to force in the name of freedom." Two days later a meeting of working men, called together by Dr. Hirsch and Herr Duncker, adopted Dr. Hirsch's scheme for the establishment of trade unions, and appointed a Commission composed of 70 delegates to prepare model rules. In November a number of local branches were formed in Berlin, Magdeburg, and Danzig, and before the end of the year the first German trade union, that of the engineers and metal workers, was formed. At the Easter Congress of 1869, it was announced that four trade unions had been organised, and shortly afterwards the "Association of Hirsch-Duncker trade unions" was formed with five affiliated unions. By the end of the year the number had increased to 12, with 267 branches in 141 different localities, and a membership of about 30,000. The rapid progress of the movement, however, received a

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. II., p. 403. Art.: "Berufsgenossenschaften," Bödiker. Fascicule I., 1892, p. 11. Ministère du Commerce et de l'Industrie, Office du Travail, France. Pfafferoth, "Führer durch die gesammte Arbeiterversicherung," 1891, pp. 38, 49, 100-102. The Workmen's Insurance of the German Empire. Guide prepared for the Chicago Exhibition, 1893, pp. 10 *et seq.*

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 616. Art.: "Arbeitseinstellungen in Deutschland," Oldenberg. Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, 1890, vol. XLV., pp. 354, 364-403, 427, 428.

(2) F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, No. 212, 1891, p. 20. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 616. Art.: "Arbeitseinstellungen in Deutschland," Oldenberg.

check. The failure of the trade unionists to gain their point in a number of wage disputes into which they had entered, cooled the ardour of the members, and the political events of 1870–1 diverted attention from labour questions. At the second Congress, in 1871, the number of members was found to have fallen to 10,000. Public feeling in Germany was still strongly against the trade unions, which were almost universally regarded as associations fostered by the Liberals or Progressists (*Fortschritts-Partei*) for the promotion of strikes, and the disastrous result of the Waldenburg strike (*see* p. 32), which the unionists had supported with enthusiasm, further alienated public sympathy. The interference of the Social Democrats worked the ruin of several local branches, and even of three of the most important unions, and the influence of this party appeared to the trade unionists to be so injurious to their interests, that since 1876 they have required every candidate for membership to sign a declaration that he is not a Social Democrat. In the year 1878, the year of the special edict against the Socialists, the trade unions gained official recognition for their benefit funds. and from that time their numbers began to increase, At the end of 1885 there were 17 unions, with 953 branches and 51,000 members; in the spring of 1891 the number of branches had increased to 1382, and the number of members to 63,571; but after the secession of the porcelain workers in November, the total membership fell to 58,000, of whom 22,000 belong to the Engineers' Union. The three unionist papers, including the official organ, the "Trade Union," have a circulation of about 40,000.(1)

Organisation.

According to the constitutions of these trade unions the local branches enjoy a large measure of independence, and administer the funds subject to the control of the General Committee of the Union. This General Committee is elected every three or five years, by a general meeting of the members. The unions are again represented in the Central Council of the Association of German Trade Unions, the members of which are elected for three years at the triennial Trade Union Congress. This Central Committee propagates trade union principles, decides disputes, intervenes or gives advice when necessary, and accumulates a general fund, which now amounts to about 66,000 marks. Dr. Hirsch, who edits the "Trade Union," and holds the post of Counsel to the Association, is still the life and soul of the movement. If the branch unions are involved in any serious difficulty, or are threatened with a strike, they must refer the matter to the General Committee of the Union, and failing a settlement by these means, the General Committee must refer it to the Central Committee of the Association. No strike may take place without this double reference, and the Central Committee must decide whether such a measure is advisable in the existing state of trade, and whether the union funds can support the strain. In any case the strike is regarded as an exceptional remedy, and the main object of the unions is to secure industrial peace. Indeed, up to the present time, the German trade unions have really accomplished more in the direction of education than in the direction of obtaining better conditions of labour for their members. Over and above the general educational influence exercised by any association upon its individual members, the unions have established libraries and arranged for lectures and courses of instruction. They have collected statistics, with regard to wages and other conditions of labour, which have been published from time to time, and are of considerable value. They have also instituted benefit funds to educate the members in thrift. Every union grants sick and funeral benefits, and the Engineers' Union provides pensions for those who have become infirm. Some of the more flourishing unions have funds for the support of members thrown out of work by depression of trade, for procuring professional assistance for members involved in legal proceedings, for supplying travelling expenses to members in search of work, and for establishing some form of labour registry. The absence, however, of any effective endeavour on the part of the unions to secure better conditions of labour for their members has given an advantage to the more aggressive Socialist organisations, and is mainly responsible for the slow rate of progress which characterises trade unionism in Germany. In 1891 a spirit of discontent showed itself amongst the members, and a general agitation for the dissolution of the Central Association resulted in the above-mentioned secession of the Union of Porcelain Workers. Members of other unions have also frequently expressed the opinion that it would be advisable to adopt a more decided line of action against the employers, and to join forces with other bodies of working men for the purpose of attaining the ends desired by all.

The statistics published by the Hirsch Duncker Trade Unions in September 1893 on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of their inauguration give the present membership as follows:—

	Local Branches.	Members.
1. Engineers and metal workers	403	23,129
2. Factory workers and manual labourers	229	10,100
3. Cabinet-makers and cognate trades	113	4,593
4. Shoemakers and leather workers	108	3,823
5. Textile workers	67	3,328
6. Tailors and cognate trades	72	2,585
7. Builders and masons (Now members of building trades.)	85	1,772
8. Carpenters (Now members of building trades.)		
9. Painters, decorators, and cognate trades	45	1,546
10. Cigar-makers and tobacco workers	30	1,176
11. Potters and other workers	28	843
12. Miners and quarrymen	43	608
13. Ship carpenters and cognate trades	9	174
14. Coppersmiths (*Klempner*) and metal workers	54	2,360
15. Stonecutters and cognate trades	8	209
16. Shop assistants	33	4,322
17. Confectioners and cognate trades	12	412
18. Ropemakers (Danzig) and gilders (Berlin)	2	59
	1,341	61,034

It is only the first of these societies which really affords any adequate parallel to an English trade union. The engineers and metal workers have conducted several strikes for an advance of wages in different districts, but the other unions are not strong enough to extend their activity beyond the establishment of benefit funds. The financial records of the trade unions between 1869 and 1892 show a total income of 16,250,000 marks, and a total expenditure of 14,250,000 marks; this includes 2,200,000 marks for legal aid to members, travelling money, out-of-work pay, and assistance in special cases, 8,400,000 marks for sick and funeral allowances, and 1,200,000 marks for pensions. The reserve fund deposited for the most part in the Imperial Bank amounts to 2,000,000 marks.(1)

The German Printers' Union (*Der Unterstützungsverein deutscher Buchdrücker*).

The one trade union in Germany which really bears a close resemblence to the English unions is wholly unconnected with the movement initiated by Dr. Hirsch and Herr Duncker. At the outset it owed something to the influence of Herr Fritzsche, a disciple of Lassalle, but the elements of an organisation were already in existence, and the independent attitude which this union has maintained for more than twenty-five years with regard to all political parties distinguishes it alike from the Socialist organisations and from the trade unions of the Liberal party. The Printers' Union can without difficulty be traced back to the seventeenth century, by which time the trade, at first the exclusive possession of certain families, had become an organised guild,

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 19. Art.: "Die Gewerkvereine in Deutschland," Schmöle. Hirsch, "Die Deutschen Gewerkvereine," 1879.

(1) Lexis. "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 19. Art.: "Die Gewerkvereine in Deutschland," Schmöle. Hirsch, "Die Deutschen Gewerkvereine," 1879. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. III., 1893, p. 30.

divided into three clases, masters, journeymen and apprentices. Under the control of the general guild there was a special association or brotherhood of journeymen known as the "Postulat" from the name given to the act of receiving a new member. This Postulat watched over the interests of members, exercised a certain amount of jurisdiction over them, and provided assistance for members in search of employment or incapacitated from supporting themselves by illness or old age. The journeymen, however, became dissatisfied with the limited powers possessed by the Postulat; they began to hold secret meetings and even to organise strikes. In consequence of these disturbances a decree of 1731 curtailed the powers of the Postulat, but in Saxony it continued to administer the benefit funds. Its meetings were carried on until 1810, when it was abolished by a decree of the King, and all meetings of journeymen were forbidden. The journeymen's associations in other parts of Germany were suppressed at the same time, and from 1810 to 1848 journeymen became mere dependents of the guild. The system of travelling benefits was, however, retained to relieve the labour market, which had become overstocked through the large number of apprentices employed after the introduction of steam presses; this served to keep alive the remembrance of the old Postulat and to rouse a feeling of common interest amongst printers throughout the country, Between 1830 and 1840 several local associations were formed ostensibly for the better education of printers, but really for the purpose of maintaining a spirit of organisation. The celebration in 1840 of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of printing gave an impetus to the movement; the employers regarded the formation of Reading Unions amongst the working printers with favour, and in 1846 a newspaper appeared devoted to the interests of the trade. In 1848 this was superseded by the "Gutenberg," and in June of the same year the Gutenberg National Union of Printers was formed with its headquarters at Frankfurt. This Union had been preceded by a strike in Berlin which lasted only a few weeks, but the attempt of the employers to force their men to sign a paper expressing regret for the strike and undertaking to abstain from such a course of action in the future led to a further difficulty. The Conference at Mainz, where the Union was first organised, drew up regulations concerning wages, hours of work, the number of apprentices to be allowed and the compensation to be paid to workmen kept waiting for work. All employers and workmen were invited to join the Union, but the majority of the employers refused to accept the invitation, and formed themselves into a counter organisation to resist the demands of the workmen. A strike took place in August in many establishments where the regulations drawn up by the Mainz Congress were not accepted; but owing to dissensions amongst the members of the Union the strike was not universal and resulted in favour of the employers. The men were obliged to resume work on the employers' terms or were replaced by non-strikers, and the National Union broke up into a number of local and provincial unions. A fresh attempt to re-unite these into an association known as the Gutenberg League was made in 1849, but in 1850 it was suppressed by the police, the "Gutenberg" newspaper was prohibited and its editor imprisoned. There was no further attempt to form a national union until 1866, the year succeeding the great strike amongst the Leipzig printers. The Berlin Printers' Union had gained an advance of wages for their members in 1865, and the Leipzig Union made a similar demand, which was refused by the majority of the employers. A strike of nine weeks resulted only in a compromise, and in 1866 a general congress of printers was held to consider the matter. As a result the National Printers' Trade Union was organised and began its operations on January 1st 1867. In 1868 a further Congress at Berlin drew up rules for the Union, which stated its objects to be the improvement of the material conditions and the mental cultivation of its members. The Congress also divided the organisation into local branches (*Ortsvereine*) and smaller and larger district associations (*Bezirksvereine* and *Gauverbände*); of the latter there are now 22. The Congress placed the whole under the direction of a committee consisting of a president and five members. The number of persons composing the committee has since been increased to seven; they are elected every three years by the Congress of German printers. Before 1873 the Printers' Union included more than half of the working printers in Germany; its membership at the present time is about 13,000.

The Union obtained its greatest success in 1873, when it established a wages list for the whole of Germany and gained general recognition for the principle of a 10 hours day. In the following year boards of arbitration were established for the settlement of further disputes concerning wages and hours, but the difficulties of the Union were by no means at an end. A Master Printers' Association, founded in 1874, had superseded an older combination of employers (*see* p. 23), and its action showed that the master printers were not yet prepared to abandon the old patriarchal system nor yet to keep faith with the Union. The masters attempted to keep the control of the out-of-work and travelling funds, and, though they had agreed with the Union to support the boards of arbitration, many of the first cases brought before those boards proved the insincerity of such an agreement. These cases arose chiefly from the refusal of the employers to observe the wages list, and where the decision was given against them, they repudiated the award. So determined were the employers to free themselves from the wages list that an association was actually formed in Berlin amongst employers and non-unionist workmen with the avowed object of upsetting it, though a number of these employers belonged to the Master Printers' Association, and had therefore subscribed to it. In 1876 and 1878 new lists were drawn up, and in the latter year the boards of conciliation were abolished and a wages committee substituted, which was supported by the Printers' Union, but received little assistance from the employers. When the special edict was passed in 1878 against the Social Democrats (*see* p. 11), a Leipzig master printer denounced the Printers' Union to the authorities, and its leaders were prosecuted. As it could not, however, be proved that the Union took any part in political matters, it could not be prohibited directly, especially as it had changed its name to that of the German Printers' Benefit Society (*Unterstützungsverein der deutschen Buchdrücker*). It was, however, declared illegal in Saxony, and consequently its head-quarters were removed from Leipzig to Stuttgart. Since that time strikes concerning wages have not been infrequent, and in 1891–2 there was a prolonged strike amongst printers throughout Germany for a nine hours' day. (For the further establishment of boards of arbitration, *see* p. 36.) Though the Printers' Union can by no means show an unbroken record of successes, it has gained more advantages for its members than any other labour organisation in Germany. The record of the contributions paid into its funds, illustrated by the following table, shows the great advances which it has made since 1866, the year of its foundation:—

Year.	General Fund.	Sick Fund.	Pension Fund.
	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.
1866	3,187	—	—
1868	5,000	—	—
1883	10,116	11,118	8,002
1889	15,210	14,416	12,725
1891	over 17,000	—	—

At the end of 1890 its financial standing was as follows:—

——	Marks.
General fund	412,411.92
Central sick fund	272,024.14
Central pension fund	994,645.60
(Including the Bavarian fund)	1,707,079.76

The amount paid out of the funds of the Union as a whole, between 1868 and 1890 inclusive, has been 5,612,069 marks; if the sums paid out by the local and district branches are added, the total would be about 10,000,000 marks. The expenditure for 1883 and 1889 is shown in the following table(1):—

Year.	Travelling.	Unemployed.	Support of Wages List.	Sick.	Funeral.	Pensions.
	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.
1883	132,191	28,532	22,024	215,305	11,622	8,882
1889	62,421	56,512	17,664	280,103	14,274	78,648

(ii.) Workmen's Associations (*Gewerkschaften*). History before the Special Law.

The movement towards the formation of workmen's associations of a socialist type was, as has been already stated (*see* p. 10), initiated by the followers of Lassalle. Lassalle had himself founded a General Association of German Working Men (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*) in 1863, and a proposal was made by Herr von Schweitzer to the annual meeting of that association at Hamburg in 1868, that unions should be formed amongst workmen of the same trades with the object of gaining material advantages for the workmen, and thus attaching them to the Social Democratic party. The proposal received no support from the Hamburg Congress, who regarded any amelioration of the conditions of labour under the present economic system as an injury to the cause of Social Democracy. In September of the same year, however, a special workmen's congress, summoned by Herr von Schweitzer and Herr Fritzsche to Berlin, expressed the strongest approval of the scheme, and proceeded to organise workmen's associations (*Gewerkschaften*) with model statutes drawn up by Herr von Schweitzer. The violence of the members hurried their leaders into premature and ill-considered strikes, the strikes resulted in failure, and the whole movement was in danger of proving abortive. To prevent such a catastrophe Herr von Schweitzer united all the associations into a General Workmen's Benefit Association, with himself as president; but this association speedily dwindled from 35,000 to 4,257 members, and never exercised any appreciable influence upon the labour movement. A few of the followers of Lassalle attempted to follow up the movement thus initiated, by founding local associations and endeavouring to amalgamate them into central unions, but it was not until new vigour was infused into their efforts by an alliance with the followers of Karl Marx that anything worthy of note was accomplished. As early as 1869 the Eisenach Congress, held by the followers of Karl Marx, had sanctioned the formation and maintenance of workmen's associations (*Gewerkschaften.*) The Internationalist Workmen's Congress at Bâle took the same view, and the result was the formation of international associations of working men, known as the "Internationale Gewerksgenossenschaften." Herr Bebel was especially prominent in the formation of these associations, which sprang up for the most part in South or West Germany. The number of members was small, and the management, as a rule, feeble, so much so that Herr Schmoele says of them that they served for the most part as object lessons of the impossibility of gaining any advantage for the working men under the present organisation of society. Some few neglected the preaching of Socialism, and concentrated their attention upon the education and the amelioration of the material condition of their members. These met with a greater share of success; by 1874 they had dropped the high-sounding title at first adopted, and as simple "Gewerkschaften" were endeavouring to discountenance strikes, establishing benefit funds, and using every means to promote a sense of community of interest amongst members. By these indirect methods the wisest amongst the Socialist leaders advanced the interests of their party far more than they could have done by direct propaganda, since the German working men came gradually to identify Social Democracy with those persons who were seeking to obtain material benefits for them. The Gewerkschaften have, however, always kept in view their original principle that the organisation of labour is a means to the gradual reconstitution of society upon Socialist lines. In 1875 an alliance was effected between the followers of Lassalle and those of Karl Marx, and by 1878 the number of general associations was 29, of branch associations 1,300, and of members 58,000, whilst there were 15 papers devoted to the interests of the associations.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 616. Art. "Arbeitseinstellungen in Deutschland," Oldenberg, vol. IV., p. 19. Art. "Die Gewerkvereine in Deutschland," Schmöle. "Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik," vol. XLV., 1890, pp. 329-467.

Throughout this Report the German mark (= 100 pfennige) may be taken as equivalent to the English shilling.

Aft Spe Law

The Special Law of 1878 prohibiting all "societies "which aim at the subversion of the existing political "or social order by social democratic, socialist or "communist efforts," inflicted a serious injury upon the workmen's associations. For the time being they seemed to be entirely destroyed. A large number, both of the central and branch associations were directly prohibited, others voted their own dissolution, whilst others again followed the example of the Printers' Union, and saved their funds by placing themselves at the disposal of the police and inviting Government regulation. Nevertheless the principles of the Gewerkschaften were not abandoned, and in 1880 a new form of organisation was introduced by means of carefully worded articles in papers devoted to the interests of special trades, which advocated the formation of local unions in these special trades (*Fachvereine*). Those local unions, whose statutes enjoined abstention from politics, were enabled to form central associations, and even after a time associations for the whole of Germany. The movement grew rapidly in spite of the hindrances offered by the police. In Berlin the local organisation was especially strong and fulfilled all the functions of the old Gewerkschaften. The law prohibiting the distribution of Socialist literature was frequently evaded, and the associations (*Fachvereine*) became the most important instruments in the hands of the Social Democrats, though politics were as far as possible kept out of sight. The greater necessity for this reserve on the part of associations with a wide area gave the smaller and more local associations a temporary superiority. No association could, however, concern itself directly with strikes without provoking police interference. To avoid this difficulty in districts where the police were specially active, a system of representation by means of trustees (*Vertrauensmänner*) was introduced. These representatives were elected at public meetings of the members of a trade, and were empowered to represent the trade, to collect strike funds and organise strikes, either alone or in conjunction more or less avowed with the Gewerkschaften. Special strike committees were sometimes appointed, so that the associations themselves might not appear to be directing the strike. A few of these associations have been formed amongst women, others admit women to membership. In November 1887, a provisional General Committee was established for all the German workmen's associations to give uniformity to the movement and to regulate strikes. According to resolutions adopted at the General Congress of German Workmen's Associations (*Deutscher Gewerkschaftskongress*) held at Halberstadt in 1892, members are to endeavour to form central associations and are to issue cards to branch unions of cognate trades with this end in view. Unions which possess these cards in common are pledged to mutual support in case of strikes and lock-outs, the mutual grant of travelling money, simultaneous agitation for common objects, the collection of common statistics, the establishment of central shelters for unemployed members and labour registries, the publication of a common trade organ, and the provision of facilities for transferring members from one association to another. The General Committee of all the German Gewerkschaften undertakes to carry on an agitation in trades and districts which are not yet organised, to work out a uniform method of collecting statistics and to collect them from the central associations, to publish periodical strike statistics, to conduct a general newspaper and to establish international relations where possible. Every central association must pay 5 pf. for each member to the general committee and failure to pay involves exclusion from the Congress. All strikes must be reported to the committee as well as all statistics collected by any association. Central associations with less than 1,500 members send one delegate to the Congress, larger associations one for every 1,500 members. A

certain latitude is allowed to individual associations in carrying out these resolutions adopted by the Congress, but their aim is to bring about a uniform and strongly centralised system of organisation for all the Gewerkschaften. According to the latest account published in the Sozialpolititisches Central-blatt for October 23rd, 1893, by Herr Carl Legien, President of the General Committee, the Gewerkschaften are suffering at present from the general depression of trade. Their membership and financial standing are best in times of prosperity, when the organisations are able to secure better wages and more favourable conditions of labour for their members. It is only the associations with benefit funds and able to give out-of-work pay, which can maintain their membership at its normal level in periods of depression, such as that from which Germany has been suffering for the last three years. In 1892 12 out of the 57 central organisations gave out-of-work pay and the amount expended reached the sum of 357,087 marks in addition to 236,964 marks paid to victimised members, and 382,607 marks paid by 33 central organisations in travelling money. The total membership of the Gewerkschaften appears to have decreased from 278,029 in 1891 to 244,934 in 1892, including 237,244 in central associations and 7,640 in local unions. The last number is less than the actual membership since no statistics are available from shop assistants, waiters, stokers, seamen, butchers, builders, and other trades. The total membership of 244,934 has suffered a further decrease by the defection of 22,400 members of the miners' association in the Saar district since the disastrous strike of 1892–3. The decrease during 1892 was also due in part to the great fall in the membership of the Westphalian miners' association, which decreased from 45,000 in 1891 to 15,300 in 1892. On the other hand, the Gewerkschaften were strengthened in January 1893 by the adhesion of the porcelain workers, who had formerly belonged to the Hirsch Duncker trade unions. At the end of 1892 there were 57 central organisations as against 61 included in the statistics for 1891, together with four local associations represented by trustees. The membership of the separate associations was as follows:—

—	1891.	1892.
1. Bakers	1,200	1,210
2. Barbers	600	515
3. Builders' labourers	2,500	2,000
4. Miners (Westphalia)	45,000	15,300
5. „ (Saxony)	7,500	7,206
6. „ (Saar district)	—	22,400 (since dissolved).
7. Stone cutters	2,976	2,866
8. Coopers	5,000	4,200
9. Brewers	1,300	3,590
10. Bookbinders	3,250	2,752
11. Printers	17,000	16,000
12. Brushmakers	1,356	858
13. Cigar sorters	650	480
14. Turners	2,589	2,288
15. Framers and paperhangers	550	450
16. Moulders	1,785	2,437
17. Gardeners	1,100	986
18. Glaziers	1,700	1,500
19 Glass workers	1,561	1,944
20. Glovemakers	2,300	2,216
21. Gold and silver smiths	2,200	1,934
22. Workers in wood	500	608
23. Hatters	3,000	2,665
24. Confectioners	400	395
25. Basketmakers	1,400	1,106
26. Coppersmiths	2,600	2,630
27. Leather workers	—	1,883
28. Lithographers	4,425	3,919
29. Painters	6,603	4,767
30. Builders	10,215	11,842
31. Metal workers	23,158	26,121
32. Millers	1,200	1,150
33. Ironers (women)	100	100
34. Porcelain workers	—	5,112
35. Lace makers	530	154
36. Saddlers	1,450	1,102
37. Shipbuilders	—	1,994
38. Ship carpenters	1,203	1,354
39. Smiths	2,500	1,700
40. Tailors	7,700	6,272
41. Shoemakers	9,500	10,150
42. Ropemakers	500	270
43. Jewel setters	1,941	1,926
44. Wheelwrights	600	475
45. Plasterers	1,860	400
46. Tobacco workers	—	11,079
47. Upholsterers	1,100	1,044
48. Textile workers	3,500	6,515
49. Cabinetmakers	16,600	18,092
50. Gilders	1,100	555
51. Women and girls	—	200
52. Carpenters	9,800	9,371
53. Roofers	571	No statistics.
54. Factory workers and shop assistants	2,000	„
55. Furriers	1,000	„
56. Stonemasons	2,000	„
57. Potters	4,700	„

The only increase in 1892 is amongst the members of 11 organisations, those of the brewers, moulders, glass workers, wood carvers, coppersmiths, builders, metal workers, ship carpenters, shoemakers, textile workers, and cabinetmakers. The absolute increase has been greatest amongst textile workers, but the brewers show a greater proportionate increase. In 1893 the unions of turners, brushmakers, wheelwrights, and cabinetmakers became amalgamated with that of the workers in wood, and the union of the Saar miners collapsed; the number of central organisations was thus reduced to 52. The bakers, brewers, confectioners, and millers are planning a similar amalgamation. The printers pay the highest annual contribution, 44·61 marks a year for each member. The hatters follow with 30·16 marks, the glovemakers with 23·80 marks, and the porcelain workers with 20·46 marks. With the exception of these four unions the contributions are on a much lower scale. The Saxon miners only pay 2·16 marks a year, and the shipbuilders and seamen only 1·69 marks; even this is often intermittent, owing to the frequency with which the men are out of work. 46 organisations return their income as 2,031,922 marks, which would involve an average contribution of 9·37 marks for each member. Besides the expenditure for members out of work, already stated, the 52 central organisations report 285,475 marks for the trade paper, 33,452 marks for agitation, 44,943 marks for strikes, 9,705 marks for legal aid to members, 21,972 marks for pensions, and 25,284 for special assistance. The total expenditure is reckoned at 1,786,271 marks as against an income of 2,031,922 marks. There are 56 newspapers with a circulation of 220,000, devoted to the interests of workmen's associations, as against three with a circulation of 40,000 devoted to the trade unions. A tendency towards international affiliation is noticeable amongst the associations of miners, metal workers, cigar makers, workers in wood, glass workers and textile workers; if this is followed

up, the movement in favour of workmen's associations will have entered upon a new stage.(1)

(iii.) Catholic and Protestant workmen's associations.

Allusion has already been made in the account given of the attitude of the Church in Germany towards Socialism (*see* p. 18), of the part taken by Catholics and Protestants alike in the organisation of labour. The activity of the Catholic Church in this direction preceded that of the Protestant; indeed in its first beginnings it dates back to the time of the French Revolution of 1789, when secret societies and distributive co-operative associations were formed under its auspices amongst the working classes in the Rhine provinces. From 1815 to 1845 the Catholic clergy were specially active in the formation of unions amongst workmen and amongst apprentices for educational purposes. In 1847 the "Catholic Unions of Companions" were founded by an artisan named Kolping, and since 1860 the social activity of the Catholic Church has been widely extended. The Catholic associations are strongest in Westphalia and the Rhine provinces and in Bavaria. In 1893 they were said to number about 250, with 75,000 members; the Westphalian Peasant Farmers' Union alone has a membership of 25,000. The Protestant associations, which are of comparatively recent date (*see* p. 19), and for the most part educational in character, numbered in 1893 some 44,000 members in Central Associations, including about 25,000 in those of the Rhine Provinces and Westphalia, 5,528 in those of Mid-Germany, 2,127 in Baden, 1,784 in the Rhenish Palatinate, 1,728 in Würtemberg, 1,440 in the Southern districts of the Rhine, 1,007 in Hesse, and 5,867 in 19 individual associations in different districts. There are besides 49 associations in those Rhine Provinces and Westphalia with 12,274 members, 56 in Bavaria with about 12,000 members, and 42 in the rest of Germany, with 6,306 members.(2)

(iv.) Co-operative and mutual aid societies, loan and credit associations.

The chief importance of the co-operative and mutual aid societies, and the loan and credit associations from the point of view of the organisation of labour consists in the fact that their establishment preceded, and to a certain extent, prepared the way for the formation of the trade unions and workmen's associations. In 1849 Herr Schulze Delitzsch established the first association for granting credit to individual members on the security of the members as a body. The movement thus inaugurated spread rapidly, and by 1856 a large number of these associations had been formed for the most part amongst small employers and artisans. Encouraged by this success he proceeded to the formation of loan associations, distributive co-operative societies, associations for the supply of raw material for manufactures, workmen's mutual improvement societies, and finally friendly societies, which immediately preceded the trade unions of Dr. Hirsch. The aim of all these associations was to educate the working man in habits of thrift and self-reliance, and they have been, to a great extent, superseded by the labour organisations already described. (For a further account of these and other co-operative and friendly societies, *see* under Co-operation, pp. 66–71) (3).

(v.) Workmen's Committee.

The form of local organisation represented by workmen's committees in particular factories has, according to Dr. Max Sering, proved successful in a number of instances in preserving friendly relations between employers and employed. These committees are composed of workmen in the various factories, the majority of whom are elected by their fellows, whilst a few in some cases are nominated by the employers. As a rule no workman is eligible who has not worked in the factory for a stated period, in most cases three years. The powers of the committees differ in different factories. In some cases they are merely consultative bodies, who represent the views of the employed; in other cases they are entrusted with the management of any benefit funds attached to the factory, whilst in others, again, their powers are even larger, and extend to the maintenance of discipline, the exercise of a moral censorship, the drawing up of the factory regulations, and in, at any rate, one instance the fixing of wages. In no case, however, are they concerned with the administration of the details of the business; they merely constitute, as Dr. Max Sering says, "a source of local self-government in matters "pertaining to labour." In several instances they have been the outcome of strikes in an industry. Since the great Westphalian disturbances of 1889 (*see* p. 32), a number of these committees have been formed amongst miners, and another was established in a large weaving mill in Alsace-Lorraine on the conclusion of a serious strike in the same year. The clause in the Amendment to the Industrial Code passed in 1891, which requires employers to allow their workmen an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon the rules of a factory, especially recognises the existence of these committees, and accepts the approval of a committee as equivalent to that of the whole body of workmen. Women are, in some factories, admitted to membership in these committees, and their admission is reported by the Government Factory Inspector to have been a success. On the whole, Dr. Max Sering concludes that "the voluntary admission of the employed "to a share in the management of an establishment "appears likely to lead (to the promotion of a sense "of community of interest with their employers, and "to the maintenance of friendly relations) more rapidly "and more surely than the social development of "England, which culminated in the formation of large "organisations embracing the employers and the "employed in a whole industry. Nevertheless, just "as the English associations could not dispense with "the aid of local and subsidiary organisations, it is "probable that in Germany, on the contrary, the "workmen's committees will require supplementing "by larger organisations. . . . . But these larger "organisations, if they are an outgrowth of the smaller "ones will be more of a conciliatory than of a combative "character, for not only will the smaller associations "have brought employers and employed into closer "and more personal relations, but also the experience "of management thus gained will have accustomed "the employed to take account of existing conditions "and of the difficulties in their path."(1)

B. Causes of Trade Disputes.

1. Periods in the strike movement.

Trade disputes of the modern type in Germany may be said, speaking generally, to date from about the middle of the century. Three periods in their history may be roughly distinguished, the first from 1844 to 1868, when German workmen were still struggling to obtain a recognition of the right of combination, the second from 1868 to 1878, when the rival organisations of Trade Unionists and Social Democrats were seeking to establish their hold upon the working classes by initiating struggles for higher wages, and the third from 1878 down to the present time marked by less open activity on the part of the Social Democrats, but by an increasing number of strikes, for the most part unsuccessful. Indeed, the labour conflicts since 1868, or during the last two periods, far exceed the total number during the first two-thirds of the century, and this increase is attributed by Dr. Oldenberg mainly to the violent fluctuations of trade occasioned by political conditions and to the consequent necessity for frequent re-adjustments of wages. Prior to 1868 a large proportion of strikes were connected with the desire to assert the right of combination, as yet unrecognised by the majority of German governments. In 1861 this right was, indeed, conceded by the Kingdom of Saxony, but though its example was followed in some of the lesser States, it was not until 1869 that Prussian workmen obtained the right, afterwards confirmed to them by Imperial legislation. According to Section 152 of the Industrial Code of the Empire "All prohibitions "and penalties against industrialists, industrial "assistants, journeymen or factory operatives on

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, vol. IV., p. 19. Art. "Gewerkvereine in Deutschland," Schmöle. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. I., 1891-2, pp. 10, 65. Vol. III., 1892-3, p. 40.

(2) Lavollée, "Les Classes Ouvrières en Europe," 1884, vol. I., pp. 313–328. Meyer, "Der Emanzipationskampf des vierten Standes," 1882, Vol. I., pp. 359-364. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. V., p. 750. Arts. "Katholisch-und Evangelisch Soziale Bestrebungen," Brüll, Uhlhorn and Baumgarten. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892-3, p. 543. Vol. III., 1893, p. 31.

(3) von Broich, "Sozialreform und Genossenschaftswesen," 1890, pp. 24-30. Lavollée, "Les Classes ouvrières en Europe," 1884, vol. I., pp. 234-243. Meyer, "Der Emanzipations-kampf des vierten Standes," 1882, vol. I., pp. 197-215.

(1) Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik, vol. XLVI., 1890, pp. 1-26. Reichs-Gewerbe-Ordnung, § 134 a.

" account of agreements (*Verabredungen*) and associa-
" tions (*Vereinigungen*) for the purpose of obtaining
" favourable wages and conditions of labour,
" especially by means of the suspension of labour or
" the dismissal of workmen, are repealed. Every
" party to such associations or agreements is free to
" withdraw, and no action (*Klage*) or plea (*Einrede*)
" can lie against him on account of such withdrawal."

With the recognition of the right of combination, the strike movement entered upon another phase. The beginning of the period from 1868 to 1878 is marked by the rise of organisations, and the era of high prices and large profits which succeeded the Franco-German war afforded a favourable opportunity for their activity. As Dr. Oldenberg says, "The rise in prices " made higher wages necessary, the favourable " condition of trade made them possible, and the " demand for labour brought with it the power to " enforce them." Consequently, the majority of the strikes during this period, including the great strikes amongst miners in the Waldenburg and Essen districts in 1869 and 1872, were for an advance in wages, combined in some instances with the shortening of working hours. Both Trade-Unionists and Social Democrats were anxious to form a labour party, and to show their zeal in the war against the great capitalists. In 1872 "strikes had become a terror to the country, " and a constant subject of public discussion." Up to 1873 they were, for the most part, successful. Wages rose from 20 to 100 per cent., working hours were reduced in a large number of industries from 11 to 10 or even 9½, though in several cases the workmen had to submit to the substitution of payment by the hour for payment by the day, and they struggled in vain against the growing prevalence of the system of piece-work. Further, the employers had learned by experience the value of organisation, and the frequent local strikes were met by equally frequent lock-outs. The ebb in the strike movement soon began to make itself felt, and the blow struck at the Socialist organisations by the law of 1878 combined with the depression in trade to produce an almost total absence of strikes between 1879 and 1882. In 1882 a fresh movement began, which it required the most strenuous efforts on the part of the labour organisations to hold in check. Wages had fallen during the bad times, and a desire was widely prevalent to strike for an advance. This third phase of the strike movement is remarkable for the tendency on the part of the labour organisations towards consolidation, in so far as they were not hindered by the Socialist law. This consolidation was the more necessary, inasmuch as it was the only means of preventing a number of purposeless or mutually destructive strikes. Its importance in the development of trade disputes is two-fold; on the one hand, as the organisations themselves claim, it makes for peace by its tendency to prevent the hasty or thoughtless declaration of strikes; on the other hand, the local strike under its influence gives way to the district or national strike, so that if strikes are perhaps fewer in number, their area is more widely extended. In Germany, however, this movement towards consolidation or federation, whether amongst the labour organisations or the associations of employers, can only be said to be in its infancy. Since 1888, it has led to a renewal of the policy of lock-outs on the part of the employers, whom the factory inspector for the Leipzig district regards as forced by the "general " disturbance of industry through demands for an " advance of wages at a time when trade is in an unsatis- " factory condition (1891) to defend their own interests " by common action."(1)

2. Wages.

As has already been indicated, the great majority of strikes in Germany are directly connected with the question of wages in one form or in another. Thus, in Alsace-Lorraine, nine out of thirteen strikes in 1891 are assigned by the factory inspector to differences concerning wages. Where the question at issue is not a direct demand for an advance or resistance to a reduction, objection is often made to piece-work, to the introduction of machinery, and to certain systems of fining, that is to say to methods of calculation which the workmen regard as likely to lower the rate of wages. All these causes, together with the demand for a fixed minimum wage, are enumerated by the factory inspectors in their annual reports on the strikes in their districts. Thus, in 1888 the majority of the strikes are said to be due to demands for higher wages and especially for a minimum wage, whilst a number of strikes against piece-work are also recorded. In 1889 the same causes are enumerated with the addition of the introduction of machinery, and in 1880 the method of fining is further added to the list. The women engaged in a factory in the Hesse district struck in 1888 against the system of payment by the piece, because they found that "according to the new " method of calculation they did not obtain the former " weekly wages." Though they were obliged by the communal authorities to return to work and to complete their contract, the employers consented to restore the old method of payment. Strikes for higher wages occurred in the same district amongst brickmakers and printers, in both cases without success. An advance in wages and the abolition of piece-work were the chief demands of the engineers of the Howaldt factory, in Dietrichsdorf, Schleswig, who struck in 1888, whilst a number of builders at Kiel struck in April of the same year for a minimum wage and remained on strike until August, when a compromise was effected. Workmen employed in the potteries of Coswig struck for higher weekly wages and shorter hours of work, in spite of the fact that some of the strike leaders were earning more than 30 marks a week. A large number of strikes took place during this year in Hamburg, for the most part to obtain a shorter working day; but the strikers included in their demands a minimum wage of 40 pf. (5*d.*) an hour with 25 per cent. for overtime, and 50 per cent. for night work. As the average daily wages in Hamburg amounted to 3.50 marks, and those of skilled workmen engaged on piece-work to as much as 6.50 marks the employers objected not so much to the amount demanded as to the demand for a minimum wage at all. Consequently, though the better class of workmen in many industries obtained better wages as the result of the strikes, the minimum wage was only granted in the case of the paper-hangers, who secured 22.80 marks a week with 33 per cent. increase for overtime (1).

The year 1889, is remarkable for the strikes occasioned by the introduction of machinery. The ironmoulders of Hanover struck because, as they declared, their employers had broken the peace by introducing machines, which would enable unskilled labour to drive skilled artisans out of the industry. A similar agitation was caused amongst the workmen in a shoe-making factory in the Palatinate, by the introduction of finishing machines, which enabled 14 workmen to do the work of 30. Since, however, the demand for labour kept pace with the supply, and the workmen employed on the machines were found to be in a better financial position than before, the excitement soon subsided. Strikes in 1890 were concerned rather with the shortening of working hours, than with a desired advance in wages; not in some cases, as for instance in that of the Ravensberg spinners in the district of Minden-Münster, the two demands were made simultaneously. Strikes occurred amongst file-cutters and knife-grinders in the Düsseldorf and Solingen districts, in both cases for an advance of wages. In the case of the knife-grinders the struggle was very severe, and for four months the efforts of the authorities and of the committees of both organisations to effect a compromise were unavailing. Finally, the two parties came to an agreement, and a Chamber of Conciliation (*Vergleichskammer*) was appointed to settle future wage disputes. The weavers in the cloth factories of Lambrecht in the Palatinate struck for higher wages and shorter hours, and the employers retaliated by closing all the mills. It was finally agreed that all the employers should pay the highest piece wages paid hitherto, and that if higher wages were paid in competing towns, the employers should engage to pay up the difference. This, however, was not found to be necessary. The textile industry of Alsace-Lorraine (*see* p. 35) was greatly disturbed throughout the year, but an advance in wages constituted only a small part of the demands of the strikers. An alteration in the basis of the wages scale formed one of the articles in the demand presented by the German Union of Printers to the employers in 1891, and a change in the method of calculating piece wages was demanded by the workmen in an elastic band factory in the Düsseldorf district.

(1.) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, vol. I., p. 616. Art.: "Arbeitseinstellungen," Oldenberg. Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten, 1891, p. 129.

(1) Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres Berichten der Fabrik Aufsichts-Beamten, 1888, pp. 107-109.

Weekly payment of wages and the posting up of the wages-list stamped by the firm in a public place were demanded by the Mannheim corn-porters in a strike which soon resulted in the success of the strikers. An increase of wages has formed part of the demands in all the important miners' strikes, both those of 1869 and 1872 and those of 1889 and 1892. In 1889 a general advance of 15 per cent. was demanded and rejected by the mine owners on the ground that the wages in Westphalia were already higher than in other parts of Germany, and that they could not be further increased except in the case of the older and steadier workmen.(1)

3. Hours.

The desire to reduce the length of the working day has produced more strikes in Germany than any other cause except the desire to obtain higher wages. Working hours in Germany are, as a rule, very long, though they vary very considerably in different places and in different industries. According to the Bavarian factory inspector, "in many factories the "time of labour is not every year nor even day by day "the same, but for different reasons, and on more "or less urgent grounds it is subject to manifold "changes." The usual hours of work are reported to exceed 15 in 5·2 per cent. of the localities in South Germany investigated by the German Imperial Commission on Labour Statistics, whilst the percentage in Central Germany, Saxony, and the Thuringian States is 17·1, in the Prussian Provinces of North-East Germany, exclusive of Saxony and Brandenburg, 22·8, and in North-West Germany 36·8. From 11 to 12 hours actual work is required in many industries; in some the hours are still longer, and though the system of a ten-hours, and in some trades, such as printing, of a nine-hours day, is decidedly gaining ground, this advance has only been obtained by means of a large number of strikes. Between 1868 and 1878 a strong protest was made by the labour organisations against Sunday work, and in favour of the abolition of overtime. Sunday and night work is mentioned by the factory inspectors as one of the causes of strikes in 1889, 1890, and 1891. An important strike occurred amongst builders in the Hesse district for a reduction of hours from 11 to 10, with an increase of 25 per cent. in the rate of payment for overtime. The strikes which occurred in Hamburg during the same year (*see* p. 34) aimed at obtaining a working day of nine hours or nine hours and a half, with extra payment for overtime. The cotton spinners of Linden, in Hanover, struck for an 11 hours day, which they obtained; directly this success had been achieved they made a further demand for 10 hours, but were induced by the burgomaster to resume work. A reduction of working hours from 11 to 10 formed part of the demand of the Ravensberg cotton-spinners, whilst the Lambrecht cloth weavers in the Palatinate and the textile workers in Alsace Lorraine desired an 11 hours' day in place of the 12 hours usually worked. The Mannheim corn-porters in 1891 demanded only 10 hours actual work a day exclusive of intervals, and the Printers' Union struck in the autumn of the same year for a nine-hours' day. The eight-hours' movement seems to have made little progress in Germany except amongst miners. At the International Miners' Congresses, proposals for a universal strike in support of an eight-hours day have been frequently made and received with approval by the Continental delegates generally, and by the Germans amongst them; but, so far, little has been actually done beyond including a demand for an eight-hours shift from bank to bank in the terms presented to the coalowners by the miners in 1889. The owners, however, refused to concede more than that the working time underground, not including the ascent and descent of the miners, should not exceed eight hours.(2)

4. Influence of labour organisations.

The influence of labour organisations upon strikes has been less marked in Germany than in many other countries, owing to the early failure of the trade unions in this respect and the disabilities which from 1878 to 1890 attached to the Socialist organisations. Indeed the slow progress of trade unionism in Germany is attributed by Herr Schmoele in a large measure to the reluctance of the unions to organise strikes with a view to obtaining better conditions of labour. According to the recent factory inspectors' reports the influence of organisations upon strikes in Germany shows itself most plainly in one of two forms, either the attempt to force employers to engage workmen only through a labour registry controlled by the men themselves, or, according to the Dresden factory inspector, the prevalence of a spirit of discontent and of hostility to particular firms, which in the last resort can be traced to the misrepresentations of the Social Democrats (*see* p. 31). Further, the demand for a minimum wage, already mentioned as a frequent cause of strikes, is in itself an article in the Socialist programme, and the factory inspector for the Schleswig district remarks in his report for 1888 that he has invariably found this demand to proceed from the younger and inferior workmen, upon whom the Social Democrats have the greatest hold. An important strike connected with a labour registry occurred amongst the ironmoulders of Brunswick in the autumn of 1888. An employer who had engaged a workman without the assistance of the registry established by the Moulders' Union was served with a notice, signed "Brunswick Ironmoulders Labour Registry," requesting him to discharge the moulder and threatening recourse to other measures in case of a refusal. The employer refused to comply with the request of the committee, and 34 moulders in his establishment immediately quitted work. This action was approved by a general assembly of the moulders of the district, in which it was also decided that the men should strike in all foundries where moulders were employed, who had not been engaged through the labour registry. The firms affected attempted to introduce fresh hands, but their efforts were largely frustrated by the energy and watchfulness of the strikers. The employers retaliated by refusing to make use of the registry at all, and the Union of Brunswick Metal Manufacturers declared their determination to employ no moulders except such as would repudiate the resolution passed at the meeting. At the end of the year 1888 the difficulty remained unsettled and the strike did not terminate until March 1890, when a labour registry was opened under the direction of an impartial person acceptable to both employers and employed. A similar strike, which began amongst the iron-moulders of Hamburg in December 1888, was not officially declared at an end until July 1890. In this case the ironmasters formed an association the members of which pledged themselves to give employment to no workman who had been discharged or had left his work because of a strike (*see* p. 23). A strike occurred in 1889 amongst the cigar-makers of Magdeburg, instigated by delegates from the German Tobacco Workers' Mutual Aid Association (*Unterstützungsverein deutscher Tabakarbeiter*), one of the earliest and strongest of the workmen's associations initiated by the followers of Lassalle. The chief object of the strike was to obtain recognition for a labour registry, and, as in the case of the Brunswick ironmoulders, the employers were threatened with the alternative of a suspension of work. The men's terms included a clause stating that "every employer may "only reject two out of the workmen sent to him, "unless he has anything to urge against the usefulness "of their work; the third workman he must engage, "or else no more workmen will be sent to him. The "labour registry will only send workmen to those "manufacturers who pay not less than 5.50 marks "to rollers, 2.75 marks to 'bunch makers' (*Wickler*) "using ribbed filling, and 3 marks to those using "unribbed filling." The employers replied that they would on no account recognise the labour registry, and that if a strike occurred in any establishment they would declare a general lock-out. Finally a compromise was effected through the exertions of the factory inspector; the employers granted the advance in wages, and the employés withdrew their demand for the recognition of the labour registry. A similar strike in Halberstadt resulted in favour of the employers. Strikes are mentioned in Alsace and in Würtemberg in 1891, which were due to the discharge of members of one of the Socialist unions (*Fachvereine*) and the workmen in a glove factory at Liegnitz struck because they had reason to believe that goods were being supplied by the firm to a foreign firm whose employés were out on strike. The factory inspectors' reports bear out the statement made by Herr Schmoele that strikes are most numerous in the districts in which Social Democracy has the strongest

(1) Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahresberichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten, 1889, pp. 137-143, 1891, pp. 112-122, 1891, pp. 125-129.

(2) Amtliche Mitteilungen and den Jahres-Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten, 1888 pp. 101-109, 1889, pp. 137-141, 1890, pp. 112-133, 1891, pp. 125-129. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol I., p. 616. Art. "Arbeitseinstellungen," Oldenberg.

hold. In Saxony, which has long been the head-quarters of the Marxist form of Socialism the relations between employers and employed are said to be especially unsatisfactory, and instances are given by the inspectors of cases in which the misrepresentations of the Socialist Press had directly conduced to strikes. The same result was barely averted in one case by the timely publication on the part of the factory inspector of the facts ascertained by him with regard to the conditions of labour in a large chair factory situated in the neighbourhood of Dresden. This factory had been the subject of a misleading report issued by a committee of cabinet-makers appointed to inquire into the industry in that district. The chairman of this committee declared to a meeting, at which the factory inspector was present, that the work was so distributed in the given factory as to enable unskilled labourers working at machines to do the work properly belonging to skilled artisans. Further, he stated that the average wages of the men employed, including 20 cabinet-makers and 100 ordinary artisans, were only 22½ Pf. (about 2¾*d.*) an hour, whilst those of the women averaged 11 Pf. (1¼*d.*). Finally he declared that the machinery was unprotected and the workrooms so badly ventilated that the men employed in bending the wood had to work in a temperature of 30° Réaumur (99½° Fahr.), whilst the boilers were so small that they had to be over-heated to obtain the necessary power. In consequence of these statements the factory inspector made a thorough examination of the establishment in question and communicated the results to a meeting of cabinet-makers. According to his evidence only the rougher parts of the work were done by machinery, which was adequately protected. The wages of three cabinet-makers working on time wages were in one case 20 marks a week, but in two others only 25 Pf. (3*d.*) and 28 Pf. (3½*d.*) an hour. Most of the cabinet-makers, however, worked on the piece system, and earned from 20 to 24 marks a week; the wages of chair-makers were from 15 to 20 marks and those of women from 10 to 14 marks a week, according to the quality of the work. The inspector also ascertained that there was great competition to obtain work in this factory, and that half the employés had worked there for 10 years past, whilst the other half had all been engaged for periods of three years or more.(1)

5. Other causes.

Amongst minor causes of strikes mentioned in the factory inspectors' reports the arbitrary or oppressive action of foremen and other officials, dislike to particular factory regulations, and misunderstanding of the action of employers are the most frequent. In 1888 strikes occurred in Nüremberg and in Düsseldorf against particular factory regulations, more especially those designed to prevent the workmen from taking Monday as a holiday to be spent in drinking. The Mannheim corn porters in their second strike in 1891 demanded the discharge of the foremen, and the inspector for the district of Saxe-Altenburg remarks that "many a difference would be solved, or indeed " would never have arisen, if the factory officials, and " especially the foremen, who have themselves risen " from the ranks of the workmen, would adopt a more " conciliatory attitude." It is also alleged that the miners' strike of 1889 in Westphalia was largely due to " the brutality and recklessness of the colliery officials." One strike, which occurred amongt blast furnacemen in the neighbourhood of Trêves in 1889, is attributed by the inspector to general discontent occasioned by the change of a list stating the prices for piece-work, which for several years had been in use in the works but had become obsolete through changes in the methods of working. Though the workmen were not the losers, they were no longer able to calculate the sum which they ought to receive. The experience of another furnace owner shows, as the inspector remarks, "that a strike is not always due to any " definite demand, but that discontent often seeks " some kind of outlet without any regard to the " material injury which this may inflict upon the " employer." One of the workmen had been dismissed for refusing to pay a fine incurred, and on the Monday following all the men stopped work suddenly at six in the evening, just when the liquid metal in the furnace was ready for casting, so that to save the furnace it had to be run off into the ground. "The result was " a serious loss to the employer and not the slightest " gain to anyone concerned."(1)

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 616, Art. "Arbeitseinstellungen," Oldenberg, vol. IV., p. 19, Art. "Gewerkvereine in Deutschland," Schmoele. Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten, 1888, pp. 101-9; 1889, pp. 137-41; 1890, pp. 112-23; 1891, pp. 125-9.

D. Development and Conduct of Strikes.

1. In general.

According to Dr. Oldenberg there is reason to believe that, as has been already indicated, strikes are most frequent where Social Democracy is most powerful. " East Prussia, as far as the Elbe, Thuringia, and parts " of Rhenish Westphalia, are almost exempt, whilst " Saxony, Franconia, and Hesse on the one side, and " the district of the Lower Elbe on the other, formerly " Lassallian and Marxist territories, are now the scene " of numerous strikes. The chief centres of agitation " in the southern district are Leipzig, Nüremberg, " Frankfurt-Offenbach, and Munich, in the north " Hamburg and Berlin. A relic of Lassalle's dictator-" ship survives in the north in the form of the mutually " destructive rivalry between Hamburg and Berlin. " Hamburg is now to the front, and possesses far the " strongest workmen's associations in Germany; " Berlin, which is at variance with both North and " South, is making a party of its own, and doing more " harm to the cause of organisation than the law " against the Socialists." It does not appear from the official statistics that wages are especially low in the districts where strikes are most frequent. With regard to the general course of strikes in Germany, Dr. Oldenberg says that they usually begin in the spring, when the seasonal trades are making fresh adjustments of wages. A wages committee is elected and an advance demanded. The employers rarely consent to negotiate; according to some statistics collected by a labour paper, out of 576 attempts at negotiation only 41 were successful, in 109 cases the proceedings were fruitless, and in 426 the employers refused to receive the deputations sent by the workmen. As a rule, work is suspended on the Monday following; there is a more or less open attempt to induce those who remain at work to join the strikers, whilst some of the unemployed are transferred to other districts with means furnished by the strike funds. After about the second week the remainder receive a small allowance, which is slightly increased in the case of fathers of families. Gradually both parties begin to give way. Workmen who resume work under the new conditions pay part of their wages for a time into the strike fund; foreign workmen introduced during the strike are as soon as possible "enlightened" (*aufgeklärt*) by the strikers who have returned to work, and given free fares home. Chance comers are treated in the same way, and it is said that workmen have been known to come to the scene of a strike for the sake of such "enlightenment" and the travelling money which it involves. At the end of every week the number of strikers determined to hold out diminishes, and as a rule when the funds fall short the two parties agree upon a compromise. The membership of the local Socialist Union (*Fachverein*) involved generally shows a great increase just before the strike, and an equally rapid decrease immediately after. This, according to Dr. Oldenberg, may be regarded as the typical course of a strike in Germany, and he adds that the trades most affected are those in which skilled labour is employed, and which accordingly have inherited the strongest traditions of association from the mediæval guilds. Women in an industry are, as a rule, a hindrance to organisation, and it is only quite recently that, in trades like cigar-making, they have taken any direct part in the strike movement. With the exception of the minor and local difficulties customary at harvest time, agriculture remains untouched, and in trades such as that of the bakers, in which the assistants often live with the employer and look forward themselves to becoming employers, they show no great readiness to strike. The State management of railways is a check upon railroad strikes, and the existence of old-established friendly societies with well-organised benefit funds preserves the ore-mining districts from the difficulties which have always beset coal-mining.(2)

Attention has been already drawn (*see* p 29) to the widening area of individual strikes due to the increasing

(1) Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten, 1888, pp. 101-9; 1889, pp. 137-41; 1890, pp. 112-23; 1891, pp. 125-9. Eschenbach, "Die Lehre des Bergwerksstrikes vom Mai, 1889," p. 44.

(2) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 616, Art. "Arbeitseinstellungen," Oldenberg.

success of attempts to convert local into national or even international associations. This movement towards federation in the form of mutual support during strikes is especially noticeable amongst miners, metal-workers, cigar-makers, glass workers, textile workers, and workers in wood; it is strongest in the first two industries, which have also been characterised by a very large number of serious and prolonged labour conflicts. In the mining districts, as elsewhere, it is noticed by the factory inspectors and others that strikes are supported most strongly by the younger workers; out of 70 employés who struck for higher wages in an establishment at Mülheim in the district of Cologne and Coblenz 25 were under age. In this connexion it may be noticed that the Socialist leaders state openly their desire to see the age at which the franchise may be exercised lowered so that the Socialist vote may be increased. The fact that military service begins at the age of 20 leads them to believe that the army is permeated by Socialist opinions.(1)

As a rule, strikes in Germany are peaceably conducted. Where the strikers render themselves liable to legal penalties, it is rather by disregarding the notice required before termination of the labour contract than by resorting to violence and intimidation. According to Sections 122 to 125 of the Industrial Code of the Empire, neither party to the contract can terminate it, except under exceptional circumstances,(2) without giving 14 days' notice to the other party concerned. A workman or an employer contravening this provision of the Code renders himself liable to an action for damages. As Professor Brentano says, it is easier for the employer to avail himself of this remedy than for the employed, but, nevertheless, the evidence of the factory inspectors points to the conclusion that the notice is very rarely given before declaring a strike. The Emperor William II. censured the miners for their disregard of this legal formality in 1889, stating that their strike was "an illegal one, since they had committed a breach of contract by a cessation of work "without giving 14 days' notice." With regard to intimidation and violence, Section 153 of the Code states that "Whoever by the use of bodily force, by "threats, insults (*Eheverletzungen*), or boycotting (*Verrufserklärung*) induces or attempts to induce others "to take part in such combinations(3) (*Verabredungen*) "or endeavours to ensure their success, or by the same "means hinders or attempts to hinder others from "withdrawing from such combinations, is liable to "imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, "unless he has incurred a severer penalty under the "General Criminal Code" (*Allgeimeines Strafgesetzbuch*). Some few instances are recorded of violence in connexion with strikes, the most notable being the case of the Silesian miners in 1889 (*see* p. 33), but such instances are the exception rather than the rule. In connexion with the miners' strike of 1889 it was decided by the Imperial Courts that Section 110 of the Criminal Code is applicable to open incitement to breach of contract. This section runs "Any one who publicly "before a crowd of people, or anyone who by distributing or publicly posting or publicly exhibiting writings "or other representations, invites disobedience to the "laws or valid ordinances, or to the directions issued "by the magistrates within their competence, shall be "punished by a fine up to 600 shillings or by imprisonment with labour up to two years."(4)

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 616. Art. "Arbeitseinstellungen," Oldenberg, vol. IV., p. 19. Art. "Gewerkvereine in Deutschland," Schmoele. Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten, 1890, p. 116. Engels: "Der Sozialismus in Deutschland," Neue Zeit., No. 19, 1891-92.

(2) These include cases in which the employer or employé has been guilty of offences against the law or against public morality, cases in which either party has grossly insulted the other, whether by act or word, cases in which either party has incited others to such acts, cases of incapacity, whether through illness, pecuniary losses, or similar causes, to complete the contract, cases in which the employé is found to have falsified his previous labour record, or in which the employer does not pay the wages agreed upon or exacts more work than his due. Further, neglect to observe prescribed precautions against fire, unauthorised abandonment of unfinished work or obstinate refusal to obey regulations, entitle the employer to break contract, whilst the workman may do so if to continue at work is to expose himself to dangers unforeseen when he entered upon the contract.—G. D.

(3) *i.e.*, combinations to obtain higher wages and more favourable conditions of labour, *see* Section 152 and p. 28 of this report.

(4) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 616. Art. "Arbeitseinstellungen," Oldenberg, "Arbeitsvertragsbruch," Loening. Eschenbach "Die Lehren des Bergwerksstrikes vom Mai, 1889. Reichs-Gewerbe-Ordnung, Sections 122-152, 153. Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, vol. VII., 1874, pp. 133-141, Reichs-Strafgesetzbuch, section 110.

2. Important individual strikes.
(*a.*) Miners.

The mining strikes of 1869–70, 1889, and 1892–3 have been amongst the most extensive and most important of German trade disputes. The first, known as the Waldenburg strike, is ascribed by most authorities to the activity of the trade unionists who were anxious to gain a footing in Silesia, hitherto a stronghold of the Lassallian party. The Waldenburg district offered a promising field for agitation, since the relations between the miners and their employers had long been of the most unfriendly character. Under the influence of the General Committee of the Hirsch-Duncker trade unions the miners presented a demand for higher wages and shorter hours, to which the employers replied by dismissing the men and giving them notice to quit their houses. Consequently on December 1st, 6,409 out of the 7,413 miners employed abandoned work, and the employers gave out that they would not again employ any active members of the Union. In taking this step they were actuated by a desire to prevent what they regarded as the interference of outsiders, and it is clear that they did not believe the movement to be anything but the work "of a handful of agitators from Berlin." Assistance was offered to the strikers by Herr Bebel and the Internationalists; but at the instigation of Dr. Hirsch this offer was refused, and an appeal made to the National Liberal party to support the cause of trade unionism. A sum of 26,000 thalers was subscribed in response, but the funds were soon exhausted, and on January 3rd, 1870, after the failure of an appeal made by Dr. Hirsch and his friends to the Crown Prince and the Prussian Government to give the strikers employment in the State coal-mines, the trade unionists could do nothing but advise unconditional surrender, in spite of the fact that such a course involved the dissolution of the Union. The complete failure of this hasty and ill-advised strike was a great blow to the trade unionists, and no further attempt to obtain better conditions of labour was possible for several years.(1)

In 1889 there occurred a general strike of German miners, which began as a local strike at the Hibernia colliery, in Gelsenkirchen, Westphalia, but rapidly extended throughout the mining districts of Westphalia, the Rhine Provinces, Lorraine, the Palatinate, Upper and Lower Silesia, and Saxony. A general meeting of miners held as early as April 7th, had formulated the demands to be made in case of a general strike. These included an advance of 15 per cent. in wages, an eight-hours shift from bank to bank, the filling of the waggons up to a certain line and the rejection of not more than ten waggons in all for the whole number of men in each shift on the score of insufficient weight. The miners demanded further that the timber wanted should be delivered in the pit, that wages should be paid twice a month regularly on the 1st and 15th, that the fines imposed by the foreman should be limited to 25 pfennige (3*d.*), and that a record should be kept of all fines imposed. They also stipulated that no delegates or strikers should be victimised, that the workmen who had received their discharge papers should be immediately re-instated, that overtime shifts should be abolished, that work should not begin on Sundays before 11 p.m., that house coal should be supplied to miners at a fixed price, and that oil, powder, and other necessaries should be supplied at cost price. On the 3rd of May 5,000 miners went on strike, by the 6th there were 30,000 more, and on May 11th the total number of strikers in Westphalia alone exceeded 100,000. In Silesia the strikers numbered 26,000, in Saxony, 5,000, and in the Saar district, over 13,000. Even collieries which had offered a liberal increase of wages were included, and very few of the pitmen in any district withstood the pressure brought to bear upon them to abandon work. With the exception of some slight disturbances at the outset, the strike in Westphalia was peaceably conducted. In Silesia, however, the scene of the previous Waldenburg strike of 1869, where there is a large Polish and Slav population, great disorder prevailed. The managers of the Westphalian mines called a meeting at which they condemned the action of the men in suspending work without giving the usual notice and rejected the proposals for a general increase of wages and for an inclusive eight-hours shift. At the same time they promised to consider reasonable claims for an advance

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 616. Art. "Arbeitseinstellungen," Oldenberg. Meyer, "Der Emanzipations-Kampf des vierten Standes," 1882, vol. I., pp. 290-99.

as soon as the men had resumed work. On May 14th, a deputation from the miners on strike sought and obtained an audience from the Emperor at which the spokesman of the deputation stated that the miners claimed the eight-hour shift which they had inherited from their fathers, and did not attach so much importance to the increase of wages, but required the right of conferring with the colliery managers. The Emperor's reply laid stress upon the illegal action of the miners in leaving work without notice, and in employing force and threats to prevent others from remaining at work. He promised to examine into the justice of their demands, but warned the deputation that, "in case "disturbances of the public peace should take place, "or any connexion appear between their movement "and Social Democracy, I should not be able to consider "your wishes with my royal favour. For in my eyes "every Social Democrat is equivalent to an enemy of "the empire and the fatherland. If, therefore, I "observe any tendency towards Social Democracy or "resistance to the law in your movement, I shall "intervene with relentless severity and bring the "whole power at my disposal, and it is no small one, "into action against you." Two days later a deputation from the employers was received by the Emperor, who told them that the miners had made a good impression upon him, and that he was satisfied of their non-adherence to the Social Democrats. The Emperor added, "I wish, on this occasion, urgently to recom- "mend all concerned in their interests to secure that "the mining companies and their representatives shall "be in future, as much as possible in touch with the "workmen in order that such movements may not "escape your notice, seeing that the strike cannot "possibly have been developed unexpectedly. . . . "I wish you, therefore, to see that opportunity should "be given to the workmen to formulate their wishes, "and above all things to keep in view that their duty "towards the State and the communities concerned "enjoins upon all companies, which employ a great "number of my subjects, to provide to the best of "their power for the welfare of their workmen, and "especially to prevent the population of an entire "province from being involved in such difficulties." On May 18th, the Coal Association at Essen agreed that eight hours "at the face," as opposed to "eight "hours from bank to bank," should be the limit of a shift, though extra shifts might be worked under exceptional circumstances when this was agreed upon between the miners and the managers. The employers also promised that no compulsion should be used to obtain overtime work, that the discharge papers given to miners should be so worded as not to interfere with their chance of earning a livelihood, that powder and oil should be supplied at cost price where the miners wished it, and that the miners on resuming work should not be made to suffer for the strike at the hands of the colliery managers. The strike leaders decided to resume work on these terms on May 22nd, but owing to misunderstandings between the two parties with regard to the inclusion in the eight-hours shift of the time occupied in arriving at the face, this return to work was not universal. A stormy meeting was held at Bochum by the malcontents on May 24th, and a continuance of the strike proclaimed from May 27th. In consequence of speeches made at the meeting the members of the Central Strike Committee were arrested, and by the end of the month the strike was at an end. During the earlier part of the strike, public sympathy inclined strongly to the Westphalian miners, and this fact combined with the peaceful way in which they conducted the strike accounts for the greater willingness of the Westphalian, than of the Saxon or Silesian, employers to submit to a compromise. Nevertheless the Emperor's suggestion of some permanent method of arriving at a mutual understanding, such as the formation of standing committees of workmen authorised to treat with the employers (*see* p. 28), has only been followed up in a few cases.(1)

In the summer of 1892 signs were not wanting of the advent of fresh disturbances. The "Glückauf" the organ of the Westphalian quarry owners, contained constant references to the necessity of discharging more men, whilst the discharges actually made roused the resentment of the miners. In the Saar district the discontent was even more active, though here reductions in wages rather than the dismissal of workmen formed the chief cause of complaint. Considerable dissatisfaction was said to be artificially promoted by the Catholic section of the party of the Centre for the purpose of weakening the influence of the Social Democrats upon the miners. No actual disturbance occurred until December 29th, when a strike was suddenly declared by the men employed in the State coal mines of the Saar district. The immediate cause of the strike was the announcement that a new code of regulations was about to be introduced in accordance with the amendment to the Prussian Mining Laws of 1892. On December 8th a meeting of miners was held and a strike resolved upon for January 1st. This decision was public, and the miners regarded it as equivalent to a formal notice of their intention to abandon work. Meanwhile petitions calling upon the Minister of Commerce to reconsider the regulations were freely circulated amongst the miners. On December 29th from 3,000 to 4,000 men suspended work, but the mining officials contented themselves with publishing the following notice:— "Several meetings of miners yesterday resolved upon "a general strike. We warn them most seriously "against any suspension of work, and shall meet all "attempts to strike in the most determined manner. "Whoever abandons work in spite of the warning must "take the consequences of his action upon himself." On the next day, however, 14,000 miners were out, and by January 4th 21,000. The leaders, Warken and Schillo, were imprisoned, but the strikers declared their intention of holding out. Both the military and civil authorities, as well as the Bishop of Trêves, enjoined them to refrain from any breach of the peace, and this injunction was on the whole observed. The meetings held during the strike were very numerously attended, and the large proportion of women present was remarked as a new feature in mining strikes. In some cases women addressed the meetings. The Westphalian mine owners afforded warm support to the mining officials of the Saar district, and, on the other hand, an appeal made to the Westphalian miners by the Saar miners on strike not only produced financial support, but induced the Westphalian miners to declare a sympathetic strike, which by the middle of January included 13,000 men. The hostility of the mining officials to all organisation on the part of the men was evinced by their refusal to receive the strike committee or any other deputation, and by their determination to prevent anyone who had taken a leading part in the organisations from obtaining further employment in any of the mines. The strikers were gradually obliged to give way both in the Saar district and in Westphalia, and as a result of the strike all the members of the Socialist Legal Aid Society (*Rechtsschutzverein*), to the number of 500, were discharged from the Saar mines. Thirty-one leading members, or "elders" of the Miners' Friendly Society (*Knappschaftsältests*) and 11 members of the workmen's committee were also discharged; the majority of these were agents for the Legal Aid Society. In Westphalia the number of strikers dismissed amounted to 2,500. A large number of arrests were made, and fines for abandonment of work without notice imposed upon the strikers.(1)

(b.) Metal workers.

Allusion has already been made to the prolonged strikes amongst ironmoulders in recent years, and from the first the whole group of metal workers have taken a prominent part in the labour movement. The first organisation of metal workers in Central Germany included smiths, locksmiths, smelters, moulders, gold and silver smiths and others, and was under the leadership of the Lassallians. Berlin, where Dr. Hirsch had great influence, had an organisation of its own, and the Internationalists succeeded in forming a small association which came to an end in 1877. Local associations, such as that of the Hamburg Ironmoulders, fared little better, and the lack of any strong central association had an unfavourable influence upon strikes. These were very numerous, but resulted almost universally in favour of the employers. Berlin, Hamburg, Lüneburg, Barmen, Remscheid, Aix-la-Chapelle, Offenbach, Darmstadt, Mannheim, and Chemnitz were remarkable for the number of strikes amongst iron-founders and mechanical engineers; Ratisbon, Cologne, and Breslau for those amongst manufacturers of railway plant, whilst the locksmiths had the greatest difficulties in Bremen, Eilpe (Westphalia), Frankfurt-am-Main, and Nüremberg. Between 1869 and 1874 a series of

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 616, Art. "Arbeitseinstellungen," Oldenberg. Eschenbach, "Die Lehren des Bergwerksstrikes vom Mai, 1889." F.O. Report, Miscellaneous Series, No. 135, 1889.

(1) Sozialpolitisches Central-blatt, vol. I., p. 372; vol. II., Nos. 15-20. Schulze, "Die Lage der Bergarbeiter in den Hauptkohlen-bezirken Deutschlands," 1893.

strikes occurred in Hamburg; one, in 1872–3, which lasted for 38 weeks, resulted in the ruin of the establishment concerned. A great strike of 2,000 workmen engaged in some railway works in Berlin occurred in the autumn of 1872, with the object of securing certain demands drawn up by the Social Democratic Association and approved by Max Hirsch's trade union. The strike lasted for two months, and though the firm was constantly on the verge of liquidation, it contrived to obtain assistance, so that the strike ended in the total defeat of the men. For some time afterwards the Manufacturers' Association "reigned supreme, and "crushed all attempts to renew the conflict by the "relentless use of the black list." After 1880 a large number of Socialist local unions (*Fachvereine*) were formed in all parts of Germany. At a congress held at Gera in 1884 a General Metalworkers' Union was formed, to which a number of the local unions became affiliated. At the end of 1885, however, this union was prohibited by the police.

The local organisations soon recovered from the blow, and though they have not since established a central union, in March 1888 there were 91 local unions more or less closely connected. Between 1884 and 1889 there were about 60 strikes with varying results. One at Fürth, in 1887, is especially remarkable as an instance of the combination of employers and employed for the purpose of forcing the wholesale dealers to lower their prices. A hundred and two employés in all remained idle for seven weeks, and the reduction in prices which was obtained enabled the employers to grant the men better conditions of labour. The strikes which occurred amongst ironmoulders between 1888 and 1890 are an example of the present tendency to substitute national for local strikes. Though the moulders have no national association, the various local strikes may be traced to the resolutions passed at a Moulders' Congress at Magdeburg in the spring of 1888, and at the time of the strikes a central fund was formed for the support of the strikers. In Berlin the moulders sought and obtained an advance in wages, but in Grabow, near Stettin, this advance was refused, and a strike ensued. In Hamburg and Brunswick, as mentioned above, strikes to enforce the recognition of the unions' labour registries were declared at the same time. The Congress of Ironmasters which met at Hamburg in 1889 resolved to do castings for members whose employés were out on strike at cost price; but in many cases the moulders who had remained at work showed their sympathy with the strikers by refusing to undertake this casting, and the attempt to enforce the order produced a further strike at Wolfenbüttel. In Altona some of the manufacturers seized the occasion to boycott (*in Verruf erklären*) the local union, and produced a strike involving 60 men. During the summer of 1889 smaller strikes occurred at Linden in Hanover, Bayreuth, and Bernburg. The moulders on strike received large contributions from other districts, and the employers' attempts to introduce fresh hands from Bohemia, Silesia, and East Prussia proved futile in spite of police protection, owing to the influence which the strikers brought to bear upon the new comers. In some cases, as at Grabow, the employers agreed to a compromise, but for the most part they regarded the strike as concerned with a matter of primary importance, and refused to give way. In Brunswick, Hamburg, and Altona the strikes soon resolved themselves into lock-outs of all unionists, and the formation of an "Ironmasters" union for a similar purpose in the province of Hanover was answered by a suspension of work in all the foundries; the actions brought by the manufacturers resulted in a verdict for the men. Finally, in 1890, after a resistance of 16 months at an immense cost to the employers, a compromise was effected, by which the organisations were recognised and a joint registry established by employers and employed. The total cost of the strikes to the workmen up to April 1890 was, according to the "Correspondenzblatt," a workmen's paper, 179,327 marks, but in spite of the compromise the difficulties were not at an end, and in one form or other the struggle continued until the end of the summer of 1891, in all nearly three years. The "Correspondenzblatt" gives the total cost as 182,208 marks.(1)

(*e*.) Printers

In addition to the early strikes amongst printers (*see* p. 25) a number of strikes are recorded in the year 1886, undertaken with the object of securing a general increase of 6 per cent. upon the wages scale agreed to in 1878. In Leipzig and Oldenburg these strikes were successful; but a five months' strike amongst six hundred printers in the Rhine provinces and Westphalia brought no definite advantages, and cost the Printers' Union 200,000 marks. Latterly the efforts of the Union have been concentrated upon the attainment of a nine-hours day, in the belief that this reform, together with a desired reduction in the number of apprentices allowed, will restore the balance between the supply of labour and the demand. In the autumn of 1891 an extensive strike occurred amongst members of the Printers' Union, with the object of obtaining a nine-hours day and a revision of the wages scale. The strike, which extended to almost all parts of Germany, with the exception of the Cologne and Coblentz, Aix-la-Chapelle and Trêves, and Saxe-Coburg-Gotha districts, attracted a large share of public interest mainly from the fact that it was regarded as a preparatory step towards an agitation for a general eight-hours day. The existing wages scale was to expire on 1st January 1892, but as January and February are regarded as a slack season, the Printers' Union decided that a strike for an advance in the scale would have a better chance of success if declared in the autumn than if postponed until the expiration of the scale. Consequently they drew up a demand for a reduction of hours from ten to nine, and an advance of 10 per cent. in the basis of the scale. Since wages in the trade were reckoned by the hour, this advance in the rate of payment, if combined with the reduction of hours which was their main object, would not affect the total daily earnings. Further if, as they claimed, greater efficiency would compensate for shorter hours, the employers would suffer no financial loss by thus raising the rate of payment so as to bring the wages for nine hours up to the existing level for ten hours. The printers' demands were brought before the Wages Board, which met at Leipzig at the beginning of October 1891, but the employers would agree to nothing more than an increase of 7½ per cent. in the basis of the scale. Consequently the employés gave notice of their intention to strike, but postponed the actual abandonment of work. On October 22nd meetings were held simultaneously throughout the country, and it was unanimously resolved to give notice of the proposed strike on October 24th. The proper term of notice was scrupulously observed, and the printers employed the interval in attempting to gain public sympathy for their cause by publishing statistics of the diseases incidental to their calling and bringing together all the information attainable as to the effect of the long hours of work upon the health of the workmen. Further, they pointed to the number of workmen unemployed in the industry who, it was anticipated, would find employment in the event of a shorter day. The inconsistency of this anticipation with the previous statement that increased efficiency on the part of the workmen already employed would suffice to maintain production at the existing level is pointed out by Dr. Adolf Braun, who suggests that the true method of reducing the number of the unemployed is to be found in a stricter regulation of apprenticeship. Of the 15,000 printers who had announced their intention of striking, 5,000 received a satisfactory reply to their demands, and therefore continued at work, but the remaining 10,000 went out on strike and remained out for seven weeks. The printers regarded the demand for labour occasioned by the necessity for publishing parliamentary and other papers without delay as an element in their favour, since such work does not admit of transference to foreign workmen. They miscalculated, however, the numbers of the "reserve army" of unemployed, and they neglected the obvious precaution of sending delegates to the chief printing centres in Austria and Switzerland to prevent the departure of workmen to take the places of the strikers. This, together with the general depression of trade at the time of the strike, contributed largely to its failure, since the Union incurred great expense in sending back foreign workmen, who would probably never have come to Germany, had they understood the position of affairs. The strike was conducted throughout in the most peaceable manner, and such great efforts were made on the part of the strikers to avoid any illegal action that prosecutions were comparatively few. An allowance of 14 marks a week was made from the central fund to every striker, and support was sent by the workmen of other countries, though in many cases it was accompanied with expressions of regret that the strikers refused to

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 616. Art. "Arbeitseinstellungen," Oldenberg, Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. 1., 1892, p. 419.

ally themselves with the Socialist party. In spite of the law-abiding character of the strike leaders the Prussian Government exercised the authority which it possessed over the Union's funds (*see* p. 25) to prevent further support being given to the strikers, and the Würtemburg Government confiscated the Stuttgart sick fund. The result of these measures was a gradual collapse of the strike. In Stettin and Breslau the strikers surrendered unconditionally, but in Berlin, Halle, Hamburg, Munich, Mainz, Nordlingen, Oldenburg, Erfurt, and other cities they resolved to remain out, even though the funds at their disposal had been so sensibly diminished. They still relied upon the contributions from other countries and from workmen of other trades, but though these were considerable, amounting it is said to 188,110 marks, including 70,000 marks from England and 8,000 marks from the United States, it was obvious that a strike thus supported could not be long continued. On January 10th, 1892, after two months' resistance, the strikers called meetings in all the principal towns, and by January 14th the strike was at an end. The victory of the employers was complete, since the men were obliged to return to work under the old conditions as to wages and hours, and the long struggle had weakened the men's organisation and exhausted its available funds. Consequently since the strike the employers have adopted an attitude of aggression, and, according to Dr. Braun, have been untiring in their efforts to obtain a further reduction of wages and to destroy the Printers' Union. To this end they have advocated the formation by the employers of benefit funds to supplant the Union's funds, the establishment of labour registries under the control of the employers, and the appointment of workmen acceptable to the employers as members of the Wages Board. In these and in similar measures they have met with firm resistance on the part of the employed, but the result has been, as Dr. Braun says, to cause the relations between employers and employed to be even more unfriendly than before the strike.(1)

(*d.*) Textile workers.

The textile industry of Alsace-Lorraine was disturbed by numerous strikes in 1890; indeed in Upper Alsace few mills remained unaffected except those which had immediately acceded to the demands of their employés. These demands included an advance in wages, a reduction in hours, and the lengthening of the intervals for meals. The movement began in Mülhausen with a strike in a cotton printing mill, which was followed by a demonstration, on Good Friday, of 150 workmen who had remained away from work against the wishes of their employers, and marched in procession through the town to assert their right to a Good Friday rest. Either in consequence of this demonstration, or merely because of a scarcity of work, 29 carders (*ansetzer*) in a worsted spinning mill were discharged and the petition of the other employés for a reversal of this decision on the ground of the difficulty of obtaining work was rejected. The result was a strike of serious dimensions; the demands of the strikers included a 12-hours' shift with an hour-and-a-half for dinner and a quarter of an hour for breakfast, and the same wages as had previously been paid for a day of 13 hours and a half. From day to day fresh establishments joined in the strike, the employés for the most part making similar demands. The weavers, who are mainly women, complained that whereas formerly they earned 33.6 marks a fortnight for minding two looms, they were now only getting 27 marks for three looms. In one weaving establishment the women demanded the return of the former manager, declaring that they had received better treatment from him than from his successor. The strike spread to the dyeing and printing works, and the mechanical engineers, builders, and iron-workers came forward with similar demands for shorter hours, longer intervals, and higher wages. In some factories fortnightly payment of wages was demanded in place of monthly payment, together with restriction of piece-work and higher payments for overtime; in other factories complaints were frequent of the extent to which the employés were fined. It was stated that one girl had been fined 18 marks, which reduced her wages for a fortnight's work to 4 marks. The strikes were peaceably conducted in Mülhausen, and there was no attempt to prevent non-strikers from continuing to work; on the other hand, none of the employés involved gave the legal notice before abandoning work. In the Thann district some disturbances occurred. After about 10 days the Mülhausen strikes ended in a compromise, by which the employés agreed to resume work on condition that the employers overlooked their breach of contract, examined into their grievances, reduced the hours of work from 12 to 11, and granted a mid-day pause of an hour-and-a-half and a fixed interval of from a quarter to half hour for breakfast. This agreement served as a model to the surrounding districts, although in some places, especially high up in the valleys, there was considerably less reduction of the working time.(1)

(*e.*) Building trades.

A successful strike occurred amongst Berlin workmen in the pottery trade in 1892, in spite of the general depression prevailing that year in industry. The strike was connected neither with wages nor hours, but was due to dissatisfaction with the arrangements as regards sanitation in the industry. For years back the workmen engaged in doing potters' work in newly-built houses have been urging upon the master builders the necessity of glazing the windows at a comparatively early stage in the work; otherwise workmen engaged upon inside work are exposed to currents of air blowing through the house with, as they allege, serious consequences to their health. The builders resisted on the ground that the panes of glass were liable to be broken if work was still proceeding in the house. A strike in 1890 to obtain the concession desired was partially successful. In 1891 the potters gained the support of the painters and plasterers, and this, together with their own strong organisation, contributed to the success of their efforts. From the middle of October 1891 until April 1st, 1892, the potters refused to work in buildings where the windows were unglazed; though the painters and plasterers took no active part in the struggle, they afforded the potters all the help in their power. At the same time all kinds of workmen engaged inside buildings were protesting against the practice of putting open coke fires in to dry newly-built houses, so that inside workmen were obliged to work in rooms filled with the poisonous gases emitted by the burning coke. Through the efforts of the potters' organisation this evil was remedied. A petition was sent to the head of the Berlin police, asking him to prohibit the use of open coke-burners; he demanded proof of the injurious effects of such a practice, and upon receipt of this proof issued a notice prohibiting work in rooms, in which open coke-burners had been placed. The example of the Berlin potters with regard to work in buildings with unglazed windows was followed by the potters of Hamburg and Altona and their neighbourhood. In October, 1892, the Berlin potters followed up their partial success of the previous year by a strike to secure the recognition of their demands. On October 21st the number of strikers was 490; by the 28th it had increased to 541. After lasting a month the strike ended in a complete victory for the strikers.(2)

D.—Prevention and Settlement of Strikes.

1. Industrial courts: (*a*) Prior to 1869.

Special courts for the settlement of industrial disputes have in some form or other been provided for by the German law since the beginning of the century, though at no period have the persons concerned appeared eager to avail themselves of the provision. The incorporation into France of the left bank of the Rhine during the Napoleonic wars brought the Rhine provinces under the Napoleonic Code, which provided for the formation of Conseils de Prudhommes to decide industrial disputes. Councils of this kind were instituted in 1808 for Aix-la-Chapelle and Burtscheid, and in 1811 for Crefeld and Cologne; when the provinces reverted to Prussia the councils were left intact, and an effort was made to extend the system to other parts of the country. Between 1835 and 1844 councils on the French model were established at Gladbach, Elberfeld, Barmen, Solingen, Lennep, Remscheid, Burscheid, and Düsseldorf, and in 1857 a similar council was formed at Mülheim. By an Order in Council of August 7th, 1846, they were called "Royal Councils," and empowered to deal with all disputes arising between manufacturers and their foremen, workmen, and apprentices; home workers were also included under their jurisdiction. In 1815 a special Factory

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 616. Art. "Arbeitseinstellungen." Oldenberg. Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten, 1891, pp. 125, 126. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. I., 1892, pp. 8, 22, 37, 51, 458.

(1) Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten, 1890, pp. 119, 120.

(2) Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892-3, p. 129.

Court (*Fabrikengericht*) was formed at Berlin to deal with disputes between factory owners or managers and their employés. The Berlin Court seems to have accomplished little, and the example of the capital was not followed in any other district with the exception of Westphalia, where so-called "Courts of Factory Deputies" were established by decree in November, 1829. They were only formed, however, in Altena, Hagen, Iserlohn, and in the districts of Ludenscheid and Siegen. The restriction of the power of the guilds effected by the Prussian Industrial Code of 1845 (*see* p. 21) led to dissatisfaction amongst artisans with the legal provisions for settling industrial disputes. The tendency of Prussian legislation appeared to be in the direction of relegating all disputes to the ordinary courts, whilst the artisans demanded special industrial courts on the model of those existing in the Rhine provinces. A committee of employers and employed summoned by the Government to Berlin to consider the matter, drew up a Bill for the establishment of Industrial Courts, which became law on February 2nd, 1849. Only 11 courts were established under the Act at Magdeburg, Halle, Stettin, Breslau, Schwedt, Minden, Liegnitz, Görlitz, Ratisbor, Sagan, and in the district of Wernigerode. The procedure of these courts was not laid down with any exactness, and their constitution was not very clearly defined in the Act; these defects, combined with the delay attending their decisions, go far to account for their comparatively small success. In Saxony a law to establish industrial courts was passed in 1861, but only one single insignificant court was ever established. Of the other German States, Saxe-Gotha alone made any efforts in this direction. In 1849 courts were established at Ohrdruf, Waltershausen, and Ichtershausen, consisting of the masters of the guild and a committee of conciliation composed of members of the guild. Disputes of a personal character were referred to this committee, and where they failed to arrive at a settlement, to an industrial court, formed of delegates from the Chamber of Commerce.(1)

(*b.*) From 1869 to 1890.

The Industrial Code of 1869, which regulated the industries of the Empire, contained a section, since repealed by the Act of 1890, which enacted that "disputes between independent industrial employers "and their workmen respecting the commencement, "continuation, or termination of the labour contract, "their mutual obligations under it, and the granting "or contents of certificates must be submitted to "specially appointed authorities in so far as such "exist. Where such authorities do not exist, the "matter must come before the regular communal "authorities, against whose decision an appeal can "be made at law. By local statutory regulations "courts of arbitration may be instituted by the "communal authorities for the settlement of such "disputes, the members of these courts being chosen "from among the employers and the employed in "equal numbers." In 1870 the Prussian Minister of Commerce addressed a circular letter to the provincial authorities, recommending them to give effect to this section by establishing courts of arbitration; but in spite of these efforts on the part of the Government, the industrial classes maintained the same attitude of indifference which has characterised them with regard to Arbitration Acts in England and other countries. In 1869 one court was established, in 1870 four; but whilst the numbers rose in 1871 and 1872 to 19 and 21, they fell again to 7 and 4 in 1873 and 1874. At the end of 1889 only 74 in all had been created, and of these only 14 were formed between 1880 and 1889. Even amongst those nominally created some were never definitely organised owing to lack of business, "and it is worthy of note that whilst several cities of "small importance instituted courts of arbitration, "great cities in many cases did nothing in consequence "of the difficulties which they experienced in electing "members. And as the small localities had consulted "the dictates of authority more than the needs of the "inhabitants, the courts speedily came to an end." Amongst the courts which were really active the greatest diversity existed as to constitution and procedure. In two points, however, all were agreed; some legal knowledge was regarded as an indispensable qualification for the office of president, and the representation of employers and employed was required to be equal. Although the authors of section 108 of the Industrial Code had had in view the formation of courts, which should intervene in collective disputes, the statutes of most of the tribunals actually established only empowered them to deal with individual matters. Leipzig, Frankfurt, and Berlin were exceptions to the general rule; the statutes of these courts directed the tribunal "to intervene as a board of conciliation "whenever a strike was threatened or had already "been declared, or whenever difficulties arose with "regard to proposed wages or other conditions of "labour." In Leipzig and Frankfurt this intervention could only take place on the request of both parties to the dispute; in Berlin it was sufficient that one should request the services of the court. It does not, however, appear that any use was made of these powers, and no instance can be found of any strike which was settled by the arbitration of any State court. In individual disputes the Stuttgart court can show the most successful record. The factory inspector for the district reports in 1889 that the Court had succeeded in gaining the confidence of the workpeople in a high degree; 468 complaints were brought before it during the year as against 526 in 1888, and 77·6 per cent. of these were arranged without a definite judgment by the court. In 202 cases a compromise was effected, in 89 the complaint was withdrawn, and in 122 the matter was settled without a formal decision. Of the cases decided by the court in its formal sessions, 86 were settled after hearing both sides and only 15 by judgment delivered in the absence of one party. In one case experts were summoned as assessors, and in 11 cases an appeal was made against the decision of the court. The subjects of complaint were:— "Commencement, continuation, or termination of the "labour contract in 53 cases, wages or other payments "connected with the labour contract in 428 cases, "questions relating to certificates and workmen's "pass-books (*see* p. 39) in 30 cases, repayment of sick "fund contributions levied in excess in nine cases, "continuation and termination of apprenticeship in "five cases, and payments connected with apprentice-"ships in seven cases. In 176 cases the complaint "was settled on the first day, in 139 on the second, "in 86 on the third, and in 45 on the fourth. In the "matter of the election of assessors the workmen "showed far greater interest and activity than the "employers."(1)

In the amendment to the Industrial Code of 1881 concerning the guilds, provision was made for the establishment of courts of arbitration, for the settlement of disputes between members of the guild and their journeymen or apprentices, and a further amendment of 1887 extended the jurisdiction of these courts in some cases to non-members (*see* p. 22). Further, the Insurance Laws of 1883 and 1884 (*see* pp. 73–79) provided for arbitration in disputes between employers and their workpeople with regard to the amount which the employers should contribute to the sick funds, or the compensation due under the Accident Insurance Law. On the whole, however, the State provision for arbitration and conciliation in Germany has proved ineffective, and the advocates of this method of settling industrial disputes have, ever since 1873, made repeated efforts to secure additional powers. Bills on the subject were introduced into the Reichstag in 1873, 1874, and 1878, but without success. In 1886 a resolution was passed "To request the Chancellor of the Empire to introduce "a Bill for the compulsory establishment of industrial "courts, with the condition that the assessors in such "courts shall be elected in equal numbers by employers "and employed separately, and by ballot." The insertion of the word "compulsory" was due in a great measure to the influence of the Socialist members, and it was omitted in the further resolution passed in 1889.(2)

(*c.*) Law of 1890.

The law, finally passed on July 29th, 1890, which came into effect on April 1st 1891, holds to the old principle of leaving the institution of industrial courts in the main to the communal authorities. It differs from the sections of the Industrial Code, which it supplants, by including a series of provisions for the formation, under certain circumstances, of a board of conciliation. The preamble states that "in many recent

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. III., p. 950. Art. "Gewerbegericht," Stieda.

(1) "Amtliche-Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten, 1889," pp. 145, 146.

(2) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. III., p. 950. Art., "Gewerbegericht," Stieda. Stieda, "Das Gewerbegericht," 1890, pp. 50–69. Das Reichsgesetz betr: die Gewerbegerichte, 1890, pp. 5–10.

"strikes it has been felt that, although both sides were "ready to treat, negotiations could not be initiated "without long delay, because no regular and authorita- "tive body existed which could undertake the conduct "of such negotiations. The present law attempts to "establish a body of this kind, which may be able to "facilitate the amicable settlement of differences "between employers and employed on points concern- "ing the labour contract, and so to obviate the heavy "losses entailed on both parties by strikes, or to bring "the latter to a speedy conclusion where they have "actually broken out. It is hoped that the constitution "of the industrial courts, which ensures special "knowledge and unbiassed judgment, may command "the confidence of both employers and employed." The authorities of a commune, or of a number of communes combined, may establish such a court; should they prove remiss, the employers and workmen concerned may appeal to the Central Government to order the establishment of a court. All expenses not covered by fees, costs, and fines must be met by the commune. The court consists of a president, nominated by the communal authorities and approved by the Government, and at least two assessors; but, whatever be the number, half must represent the employers and half the employed. They are elected by ballot, and must be over 30 years of age; neither paupers nor persons under any legal disability are eligible, and all persons elected must have resided or been employed for two years in the district. Women may neither vote nor be elected. The electorate includes all persons over 25 years of age, who possess the qualifications required for assessors. The assessors, who cannot refuse election, except for special reasons, are compensated for travelling expenses and for loss of time. The contending parties may not be represented by lawyers, or by persons who are professionally engaged in legal proceedings. The courts may take the evidence on oath both of the parties concerned and of witnesses or experts. If the matter in dispute exceeds the value of 100 marks (5*l.*), an appeal may be made against the decision of the court to the regular courts of the district. Any industrial court may convert itself into a board of conciliation when appealed to by both parties. In this case the President nominates four assessors, two from each side, and the parties are represented by a limited number of delegates, as a rule three from each side; each party may also elect further assessors, provided that equality of representation is preserved. The decisions of the court, when acting as a board of conciliation, are not legally binding, and cannot be enforced; in other cases the court notifies its decision to the parties concerned, who must declare within a given time whether they accept it or not. If the assessors cannot come to an agreement, the president may withold his vote, and simply declare that no judgment can be given. In any case, the result of the negotiations must be public. The court must give its opinion on industrial questions when required to do so by the Government or the communal authorities, and it is empowered to make suggestions to these authorities on matters relating to the persons or establishments under its jurisdiction. The law recognises the existing rights of the guilds and their courts, but calls upon all other industrial courts to revise their constitution before April 1st, 1892, and to remodel it in accordance with the existing law.(1)

(*d.*) Working of the law of 1890.

So far 179 courts have been formed in the six largest German States, or 133 in Prussia, 13 in Bavaria, 13 in Saxony, 9 in Würtemberg, 7 in Baden, and 4 in Hesse. Alsace and Lorraine, in spite of their great industrial development, have as yet taken no advantage of the Act, and the fact that Saxony has no more courts than Bavaria seems to show that there is no definite relation between the provision for arbitration and the probable need of it. East of the Elbe there are 81 courts, but excluding the Potsdam and Schleswig districts only 52. The official statistics for Würtemberg, state that up to the end of 1892, one court, that at Geisslingen, had not yet taken any action. During 1892, the remaining eight courts considered 160 complaints brought by employers against their workpeople, and 1,320 complaints brought by workmen against their employers. The percentage of cases originating with the employers appears to be much larger in Würtemberg than in most other parts of Germany. A judgment was given in 410 of the 1,480 cases, 711 were settled by compromise, 291 were withdrawn, and 68 were pending at the end of the year. Thus the cases settled by compromise amounted to about 50 per cent. of the whole, whilst those in which a judgment was given were only 25 per cent. A very large proportion of the cases were settled within a week. The industrial court of Hanau-am-Main considered 64 cases during the official year 1892-3, as against 104 in the preceding year. Fifty-five of these originated with the workmen, and nine with the employers. Fifty-three cases were settled without a formal sitting of the court, and of the 11 cases considered by the court, five were settled by compromise, five by a definite judgment, and one was withdrawn. In some districts, where the establishment of industrial courts is of more than ordinary importance, there has been considerable delay in carrying out the law. In Berlin, the election of assessors only took place on February 20th, 1893, although the law came into force on April 1st, 1891. An attempt had been made to establish an industrial court for Berlin previous to the passing of the law, at the instance of Herr Tutzauer, a Social Democrat; but his scheme, which gave a vote to all workpeople over 21 years of age including women, deprived the guilds of their exceptional position, empowered the courts to administer oaths and made their decisions final, was rejected by the lord lieutenant (*Oberpräsident*), in October 1889. The statutes drawn up since the passing of the law have perforce omitted the previous provisions concerning women, and adopted the higher legal age fixed by the law; but they have given greater definiteness to the provision concerning the payment of assessors by fixing such payment at 4 marks a day, and providing that it should be paid at once, and not only at the end of each quarter. The Berlin court consists of 420 assessors, 210 from each side; and the statutes provide that the president, nominated by the magistrate, and confirmed by the lord lieutenant (*Oberpräsident*), must summon two assessors to each meeting. These assessors should, as far as possible, according to the statutes, be persons of the same trade as the disputants, or of a cognate trade; but this arrangement seems likely to lead to confusion and delay, since the number of cases considered in one day would involve either the summoning of a number of assessors, or the postponement of cases until there were enough in a given trade to occupy the court for one day. Dr. Max Quarck draws attention to this point, and also suggests the division of the court into branches for each quarter of the city, as a means of accelerating business. The method of electing assessors adopted in Berlin appears open to objection, and contrasts unfavourably with the simpler method in use at Frankfurt. Here each voter must merely prove his right to vote on the election day itself, whilst in Berlin voters are required to register their names on lists in the various electoral districts before a given date. The result of this has been, that in spite of repeated postponements of the date, only 34,388 out of the 280,000 workmen, and 3,047 out of the 80,000 employers qualified to vote registered their names, and the election was in the hands of a well organised minority. All the workmen elected, and nine of the employers, belonged to the Social Democrats, who possess 219 votes against 201 in the court as finally constituted.(1)

In the mining districts, the expense of organising the industrial courts is borne by the State instead of by the communal authorities, in accordance with the section of the law which provides that "any "division of the administrative districts for a special "purpose must be carried out after a uniform plan by "the central authorities (*Landesbehörden*) in place of the local authorities." When the Chamber of Deputies was asked to vote the necessary funds the Conservative party offered strong opposition. According to a writer in the "Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt" of March 13th, 1893, this opposition was due in a great measure to the fears entertained by the great landowners that the proposal to establish courts in the agricultural districts, which has already been made in the Reichstag by some of the members from Poland, may in the end be adopted. In spite of the opposition the necessary funds were voted, and on April 1st, 1893, five courts were instituted for the mining districts, two of which were for Silesia, and one each for Westphalia, the Aix la Chapelle, and the Saarbrück districts.(2)

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. III., p. 950. Art., "Gewerbegericht," Stieda. Das Reichsgesetz betr: die Gewerbegerichte, 1890.

(1) "Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt," vol. I., 1892, pp. 73-75; vol. II., 1892-3, pp. 145, 231, 265, 362, 387.

(2) "Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt," vol. II., 1892-3, pp. 207, 241, 258, 494.

The "Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt" calls attention to the very few cases in which industrial courts have exercised the power given to them by the Act of resolving themselves into boards of conciliation. One successful instance is, however, recorded in Kiel, in September, 1892, when a pending dispute between brewers and their workpeople was averted. The Leipzig court has established an information office (*Auskunfts-Bureau*) which furnishes advice gratis to workmen. The assessors attend in turns and give the workmen the benefit of their experience; and though the office has lately been in difficulties owing to the complaints of the unorganised workmen that its benefits were confined to those who were organised, it continues to exist and to do useful work. It was established in April, 1890, and in the first year of its activity gave advice to over 1,000 workmen.(1)

2. Voluntary boards of arbitration and conciliation.

Efforts have been made from time to time in Germany to organise voluntary boards of arbitration and conciliation in the different industries, but except in the printing trade little has been achieved in this direction. In 1873 the Economic Club (*Verein für Sozialpolitik*) issued a report on the subject, and presented a petition to the Reichstag praying for the "speedy promulgation of a (normal) law authorising boards of conciliation." The trade unions were in favour of establishing such boards, and, about 1870, boards seem to have been formed in Grünberg, Guben, Danzig, Berlin, Stralsund, Barth and Zingst, Rostock, Offenbach and Biebrich. The details recorded of these boards are both meagre and contradictory; and their history does not appear to have contributed much to the records of successful arbitration. In 1872 the attempt to establish such an institution in the Berlin building trades failed owing to the resistance of the workmen, and though a temporary board put an end to a strike in May 1872, the workmen did not carry out the award. The tailoring industry in Berlin had the same experience, and in 1889 the trade unions were still only in the stage of anticipating good results from the future formation of boards of conciliation. In the printing trade a board for the whole of Germany was established in 1873, after a prolonged succession of strikes concerning wages (*see* p. 25). The board consisted of 24 members, 12 from each side, who were elected for three years and empowered to take action in the event of any proposal to alter the wages list. Their decisions were to be submitted to the employers and employed in the 12 main centres of the industry, who might accept or reject them as they stood, but were not entitled to amend them. The board might also consider local variations of wages, and acted as a court of appeal against the decisions of the local boards. These were constituted in each of the 12 centres, and empowered to decide all minor disputes arising out of the terms of the labour contract. They were composed of three employers and three workmen, who held office for a year. The printers' board did not, however, meet with lasting recognition amongst all the members of the industry. The election of members was not in every case above suspicion, and the employers in many instances refused to accept the decision of the board. After a time the workmen followed their example, and in 1878 the board was abolished and a wages committee established in its place. In 1886 the old local organisation was revived, and courts of arbitration established in Leipzig, Hamburg, Munich, Karlsruhe, Berlin, Dresden, and Breslau in connexion with the wages committee. The disastrous strike of 1891–2 inflicted a serious blow upon the printers' organisation, and at present Germany cannot be said to contain any very successful example of a voluntary board for a whole industry, though there are some instances of councils of conciliation in particular factories, such as the Schultheiss Brass Foundry and the Freese Blind Factory at Berlin. These councils are more of the nature of workmen's consultative committees than of boards of conciliation. In the Schultheiss Brass Foundry each class of workmen elects two, three, or four representatives, according to the number of workmen in the class. The managers consult the committee thus formed on questions affecting the workmen, and have several times granted an advance of wages in accordance with the committee's wish. Herr Rösicke, the chairman of the company and a member of the Reichstag, is mainly responsible for the liberal views of the management. In Herr Freese's blind factory the committee of conciliation consists of 15 members, four appointed by the chairman and 11 elected by the workmen. All the workmen have a vote, and are eligible for election after they have been six months in the factory. Elections are held annually, and in 1892 the manager nominated a woman as one of his representatives. The council meets once every quarter, and oftener if necessary; after every meeting any workman is at liberty to come before it and state any grievance which he may have experienced or observed. Herr Freese regards this provision as one of the most fruitful in preventing ill-feeling.(1)

(1) "Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt," vol. II., 1892-3, p. 22.

3. Mediation.

In Germany, as in Austria, the inspectors of factories occupy a very prominent position in the industrial world, and the facilities for obtaining reliable information inseparable from their work render them peculiarly fitted to exercise a conciliatory influence upon both employers and employed. This influence they frequently exercise in the capacity of mediators, and their activity in this direction might be even more beneficial, could they but overcome the distrust with which they are sometimes regarded by the working classes. The inspector for the Zwickau district of Saxony in 1889 reported that he had in one instance consented to act as mediator between workmen on strike and their employers, and that during the year he had given 635 written opinions on points connected with factory labour. It has been proposed that the Government inspectors should be appointed presidents of the industrial courts, but besides the difficulty of finding a sufficient number, the inspectors are already fully occupied, and it would be necessary to appoint a large additional staff should this proposal be seriously considered.

One remarkable instance of mediation has been already mentioned (*see* p. 33), namely, the intervention of the Emperor on the occasion of the Westphalian strike of 1889. Such intervention necessarily differs from the mediation of a private individual, in that it is impossible entirely to divest the action of the head of the State of a somewhat compulsory character. It cannot, however, be doubted that the Emperor's expressions of opinion contributed largely to the speedy termination of the strike.(2)

DIVISION II.—CONDITIONS OF LABOUR IN CERTAIN SPECIAL INDUSTRIES.

Introduction.

a. Industrial protective legislation. (i.) Historical development.

Protective legislation for labour, as now understood, dates in Prussia from the regulation (*Regulativ*) of March 9th, 1839, promulgated by a Rescript (*Kabinetsordre*) of April 6th, which prohibited the regular employment of children under nine years of age in mines, factories, stamping mills, or blast-furnaces, limited the maximum working day for young persons under 16 to 10 hours, and prohibited their employment at night, or on Sundays and festivals. The General Industrial Code of January 17th, 1845, added further regulations with regard to the proper treatment of workmen and apprentices, and the provision to be made for their physical and moral welfare, and an Order in Council of February 9th, 1849, which provided for the establishment of industrial councils, also declared that no work was to be compulsory on Sundays or festivals, and that the employés in workshops and factories were to have a voice in fixing the limits of the working day. A law of May 16th, 1853, introduced some emendations into the rules laid down in 1839. The minimum age at which children might be employed was raised to 12, and the hours for children under 14 were restricted to six, with three hours school attendance. Finally, factory inspectors were to be appointed "where necessary." An Order in Council of September 22nd, 1867, extended these provisions to the recently acquired Prussian territories, and the Industrial Code adopted by the North German Confederation in 1869 embodied the earlier provisions of the Prussian law with very slight changes, and extended them to all the federated States. This code contained the further provision that every employer was bound to erect and maintain, at his own expense, all necessary appliances for securing the health and safety of his workpeople. The provisions concerning factory labour were extended to mines, quarries, and subsidiary works. Similar legislation had been adopted

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. III., p. 37. Art., "Einigungsämter," Stieda. "Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik," vol. XLV. 1890, pp. 403–467. De la Conciliation et de l'Arbitrage, Paris, Office du Travail, 1893, pp. 480, 481. "Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik," vol. II., 1873.

(2) Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten, 1889, p. 8. Eschenbach, "Die Lehre des Bergwerksstrikes vom Mai, 1889," pp. 45, 46.

in other parts of Germany. The Bavarian Government had issued an Order in Council on January 15th, 1840, with regard to the protection of children. The regular employment of child labour in factories, mines, blast-furnaces, and foundries was prohibited; children over nine could only be employed if certified to be sufficiently strong and to have reached a certain educational standard, and children under 12 could not be employed at night or for more than 10 hours a day. An Order of July 16th, 1854, strengthened the regulations in force for the maintenance of the health and the preservation of the moral standard amongst children, raised the minimum age to 10, and restricted their hours to nine, with three hours school attendance. Safeguards for machinery and sanitary regulations were left to the police, though some specially dangerous industries were regulated by an Order in Council of April 8th, 1863. In the kingdom of Saxony the truck system was prohibited by an Order of October 22nd, 1849, and a further Order of December 18th, 1855. The Saxon Industrial Code of October 15th, 1861, continued this prohibition, and added many other provisions for the protection of labour. The employment of children under 10 was forbidden, and in 1865 the age was raised to 12. This clause applied only to factories employing more than 20 workpeople, where the regular hours for children under 14 were limited to 10. Employers were obliged to erect safeguards to their machinery, and to provide proper sanitary appliances; but the liberty of contract was, in the main, unrestricted as far as adult labour was concerned. The Würtemberg Industrial Code of February 12th, 1861, included similar provisions with regard to sanitation and the guarding of machinery; it prohibited the truck system, and provided that children and young persons under 18 years of age could only be employed, when such employment did not interfere with their health, their education, and their religious duties. In the Grand Duchy of Baden an Order of March 4th, 1840, provided that, up to the age of 11, children could not be released from attending the national schools, and, if engaged in a factory, must be allowed two hours for school attendance. The time spent in work and at school must not exceed 12 hours in all, exclusive of work carried on in the open air. Work at night or on Sundays and holidays was forbidden to children and young persons. The Baden Industrial Code of September 20th, 1862, embodied these earlier regulations, obliged the employer to provide for the health and safety of his workmen, and ordered him to post up a code of factory rules where his workmen could see it. In the other German States there was little attempt at protective legislation before the introduction of the North German Industrial Code in 1869. What provisions there were mainly concerned the regulation of apprenticeship, and the precautions to be observed in dangerous or unhealthy industries, such as match-making. After the unity of the German Empire was an accomplished fact, the North German Industrial Code, now become the Industrial Code of the Empire, was extended on January 1st, 1871, to Southern Hesse, on January 1st, 1872, to Würtemberg and Baden, on January 1st, 1873, to Bavaria, and on January 1st, 1889, to Alsace-Lorraine. This code was amended in 1878, when the appointment of factory inspectors was made obligatory, and the factory laws extended to all industries employing steam power, to blast furnaces, building operations, and dockyards. In 1884 a special Act was passed to regulate match factories, and in the same year the duties of employers with regard to the provision of safety appliances and the prevention of accidents were further defined by the Accident Insurance Law (*see* p. 76). The code was again amended in 1891, in accordance with the recommendations of the Berlin Conference, by the introduction of fresh regulations with regard to Sunday labour and the labour of women and children.(1)

(ii.) Present state of the law. Sunday work.

As the law now stands, employers cannot oblige their workpeople to perform work on Sundays and holidays except such as from the nature of the case cannot be suspended. Holidays are determined by the State Governments in accordance with local custom or religious belief. Persons employed on a Sunday or holiday for necessary work must be given corresponding time off on some other day, and double time off if obliged to work at Christmas, Easter, or Whitsuntide. Except in cases not admitting of delay the hours of work must be so fixed as to allow of attendance at divine service. If Sunday employment cannot be so fixed and exceeds eight hours, a rest of 36 hours must be given every third Sunday, or the workpeople must be free every second Sunday between the hours of 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. Exceptions may be made in certain cases by the higher local authorities or the Federal Council.

Truck system.

Employers are obliged both to pay wages and to reckon them in Imperial currency. It is illegal for an employer to supply commodities on credit to his employés; but these provisions do not exclude the reckoning of board, lodging, firing, lights, the use of land, medicine and medical assistance, tools, and material within the wages paid. Such food and necessaries must, however, be valued at the average cost price. Contracts upon any other basis than that here laid down may be declared null and void, and no agreement between a workman and his employer, which obliges the workman to make his purchases at any given establishment, can be held to be binding. Wages may not be paid in shops or public-houses, without the permission of the local authorities. Wages must also be paid at stated intervals, which may be fixed by the authorities of the commune, or group of communes, for all industries within its limits. These intervals must not be less than one week or more than one month. Any breach of this law renders the employer liable to a fine not exceeding 2,000 marks, or in default to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months.

Labour certificates.

Workmen leaving the service of an employer are entitled to demand a certificate (*Arbeitszeugniss*) stating the nature and duration of their employment. It may also state the manner in which the workman has conducted himself, if he so desire. The certificate is then stamped by the local police magistrate. Refusal to give a certificate renders the employer liable to no penalty, but he may be proceeded against in a civil court.

Protection of the health and morals of the workmen.

Dangerous industries, such as gunpowder factories chemical works, and forges, must be conducted according to the regulations of the local authorities, and the same applies to industries employing steam boilers. Failure to observe these regulations entails fine or imprisonment. Employers in all industries are obliged to erect and maintain all appliances regarded by the authorities as necessary to preserve health and prevent accidents. The Federal Council has power to define these appliances, and has extended this clause to cover the drawing up of factory rules (*Fabriksordnungen*) defining what the workman may or may not do, excluding delicate workmen from certain classes of work, and providing for constant medical superintendence and similar matters. The latest amendments to the code particularise the sanitary precautions to be observed in respect of fresh air and cleanliness. They also insist upon the separation of the sexes as far as possible whilst at work, and the provision of separate dressing-rooms. Minor points are left to the control of the local authorities, and measures for the prevention of accidents to the employers' accident insurance associations. Special regulations are made for certain industries, which are regarded as unhealthy; for instance, the hours of work in lead factories were restricted by the Federal Council in 1886. Employers are given a certain term of grace to carry out structural changes or to provide safeguards ordered by the local police magistrates. Failure to comply may be punished by a fine not exceeding 300 marks, or in extreme cases by the closing of the factory.

Labour passports.

Every workman, before he can be regarded as fully qualified by age for employment, must be provided with a labour passport (*Arbeitsbuch*). This must contain his name, with the day, year, and place of birth. Any employer engaging a workman under 21 years of age must demand such a passport, must keep it subject at any time to official inspection, and must restore it to the workman at the end of his engagement, after entering the dates on which the engagement began and ended, and the nature of the work upon which the workman has been engaged in his service. These entries must be made in ink and signed by the employer, who is forbidden to add any note or sign which may convey information with regard to the workman's character or conduct. The passport must be stamped by the local magistrate. An employer losing or misusing it must provide another at his own expense. The insertion of any special mark is punishable by fine or imprisonment.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I. p. 401. Art., "Die Arbeiterschutzgesetzgebung in Deutschland," Landmann.

Working rules.

Every factory or workshop employing regularly more than 20 operatives must have a code of working rules (*Arbeitsordnung*), and the same provision applies to blast furnaces, timber yards, and other building establishments, dockyards, brickyards, and open quarries, except those in which the work is merely temporary. These rules must be dated and signed, and hung up in some place in which they are easily accessible to the workmen two weeks before they come into force, so as to admit of the consideration of objections. Afterwards a copy must be supplied to every workman entering the establishment. The rules must state the times for beginning work and leaving it, the intervals for adult workmen, the mode of reckoning wages and the times of payment, the notice of termination of engagement to be given on either side, the grounds upon which this may be dispensed with, the nature and amount of penalties, the method of fixing them, and the way in which money is expended which is obtained by fines, or by the retention of the wages of persons breaking contract. Any other provisions agreed upon by the managers and the workmen's committee (*see* p. 28) may be added. Fines must always be devoted to some purpose which benefits the workmen generally, and they must be registered on a schedule hung up in a public place stating the persons fined, the offence, and the date. Both parties are bound at law to observe these regulations as soon as they have come into force; but before that time all workmen of full age in the factory must be given an opportunity for expressing their opinion, either through their standing committee, or, if there is no such institution, at a special meeting. The employer is not obliged to do more than listen to such an expression of opinion, and the local authorities cannot refuse their sanction to the proposed rules, unless these contain anything illegal.

Women's labour.

Girls and women, irrespective of age, may not be employed in factories at night between the hours of 8.30 p.m. and 5.30 a.m., and must be free on the eves of holidays by 5.30 p.m. The hours for those over 16 years of age must not exceed 11 a day and 10 on the eves of holidays. The midday rest for women must not be less than one hour, and where such women manage a household they must be allowed one hour and a half. Women may not work for four weeks after their confinement, and this period must be further extended to six weeks, unless their fitness for work can be certified by a doctor. All factories intending to employ girls and women must notify the fact to the local authorities, together with the days and hours during which they will be employed. Overtime to the extent of 13 hours work a day for a fortnight at a time may be sanctioned by the authorities, provided that such overtime does not exceed 80 hours in a year. Women may not be employed at all in underground operations, and by the regulations of the Federal Council they may not be employed in smelting works and forges, nor in connexion with furnaces in glass works. Their employment in lead factories, cigar factories, gutta-percha factories, and wire-drawing works is also restricted.

Child labour and the labour of young persons.

Children under 13 years of age cannot be employed in factories, and even if over 13 years of age they can only be employed if freed from the necessity for school attendance. The hours for children under 14 years of age must not exceed six a day, with a pause of at least half-an-hour, and young persons between 14 and 16 must not work in factories more than 10 hours a day, with one hour's interval in the middle of the day, and half-an-hour in the morning and afternoon. Young persons must not be employed on Sundays or holidays, nor during the hours fixed for religious instruction by the authorised priest or pastor. In the country, children over 10 may be partially exempted from school attendance, and allowed to assist in open-air work, such as minding cattle; but this partial exemption is in the hands of the school inspectors, and is not, as a rule, granted until the completion of the 11th or 12th year. Employers must allow employés under 18 time to attend secondary schools (*Fortbildungsschulen*) if they desire to do so, or if they are obliged to do so by local statute. Special regulations have been drawn up by the Federal Council for the protection of boys employed in smelting works and forges, glass works, spinning mills, wire-drawing factories, lead factories, cigar factories, and gutta-percha manufactories. Boys under 14 may not be employed in underground mining, and the legal power to employ young persons for 10 hours a day is restricted in many directions by the police, who limit the hours in certain classes of work, and require medical certificates of fitness in others. As in the case of women and girls, employers who intend to use boy labour must notify the fact to the local authorities. No child may be employed until a labour card (*Arbeitskarte*), stamped by the authorities, has been given to the employer stating the name, day, and year of birth, and denomination to which the child belongs, the name, calling, and residence of the father or guardian, and the extent to which the child is still obliged to attend school. A list of all the children employed must be kept in every factory, and hung up, together with a statement of their hours, in the rooms in which they work.

Factory inspection.

The Industrial Code obliges the State Governments to appoint factory inspectors to ensure the carrying out of the provisions respecting female and child labour, and to see that due precautions are observed for the maintenance of the health and safety of all factory workers. The jurisdiction of these inspectors extends to workshops employing steam power, blast furnaces, building yards, dockyards, mines, salt works, and underground quarries. Mine inspectors, however, form a separate class. In districts where there are no factories the appointment of inspectors may be dispensed with; but this is only the case in Mecklenburg Strelitz, Lippe Detmold, and Schaumburg Lippe.(1).

b. Women's labour. (i.) Number of women employed.

The latest complete statistics with regard to the extent of women's labour available for Germany are those contained in the Statistics of Occupations of June 5th, 1882. These are compared with similar statistics for other countries in the subjoined table:—

TABLE A 1.

Country.	Total Female Population.	Engaged in Professions, Industry, Agriculture, or Commerce.		Domestic Servants.		Total Percentage of Working Women to Total Female Population.
		Absolute.	Percentage of Female Population.	Absolute.	Percentage of Female Population.	
German Empire (June 5, 1882) -	23,071,000	4,259,000	18·5	1,282,000	5·6	24·1
Austria (December 31, 1880) -	11,325,000	3,897,000	34·4	572,000	5·1	39·5
Hungary (December 31, 1880) -	7,939,000	1,590,000	20·0	384,000	4·8	24·8
Italy (December 31, 1871) -	13,329,000	4,708,000	35·3	695,000	5·2	40·5
Switzerland (December 1, 1870) -	1,364,000	387,000	28·4	86,000	6·3	34·7
France (December 18, 1886) -	18,789,000	2,855,000	20·6	1,507,000	8·0	28·6
England and Wales (April 4, 1881)	13,335,000	2,172,000	16·3	1,231,000	9·2	25·5
England and Wales (April 1, 1891)	14,949,000	2,256,000	15·1	1,759,000	11·7	26·8
Scotland (April 4, 1881) - -	1,936,000	351,000	18·1	133,000	6·9	25·0
Ireland (April 4, 1881) - -	2,642,000	541,000	20·5	233,000	8·8	29·3
Denmark (February 1, 1880) -	1,007,000	71,000	7·0	122,000	12·1	19·1
Norway (January 1, 1876) -	930,000	80,000	8·6	115,000	12·0	20·6
Sweden (December 31, 1870) -	2,152,000	218,000	10·1	198,000	9·2	19·3
United States (July 1, 1880) -	24,637,000	1,708,000	6·9	939,000	3·8	10·7

Note.—Throughout the Reports the tables are numbered according to subjects, those referring to one subject being distinguished as A. 1, A. 2, &c.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 401. Art., "Die Arbeiterschutzgesetzgebung in Deutschland," Landmann. "Das Arbeiterschutz-Gesetz," official pamphlet, 1891. Berlin Labour Conference, Parliamentary Paper, June 1891, pp. 21-23. Education Department, Report of Departmental Committee, July 1893, pp. 31-32.

These statistics are given in round numbers; the actual figures for Germany show a total female population of 23,071,364 as against a total male population of 22,150,749. Of the female popula[illegible] 4,259,103 are engaged in professions, in industry, in commerce, or in agriculture, and 1,282,414 are domestic servants. The total number engaged in agricultural pursuits, forestry, and fishing, is 2,534,909, or more than half of all the women with definite occupations. Industry claims 1,126,994, or rather more than one-fourth; trade and commerce, including serving in inns and restaurants, 298,110; domestic pursuits carried on in different houses (*e.g.*, charwomen), 183,836; and liberal professions, 115,272. With regard to individual trades or pursuits, women in industry are most numerous in the manufacture and cleaning of clothing, where they form 43·8 per cent. of the total number of persons employed. In the textile industries 39·8 per cent. of the employés are women, whilst the percentage of women serving in restaurants is 45 per cent., in paper making it is 31·2 per cent., in shops 22 per cent., in food industries 13 per cent., in gardening 16·5 per cent., in peat cutting 23·3 per cent., in the working up of metals, exclusive of iron, 16·1 per cent., in the chemical industries 10·3 per cent., and in the typographic and lithographic industries 13·6 per cent. Minor industries employ a large percentage of female labour; in gold and silver wire-drawing it is 66·5 per cent., in steel pen making 68·8 per cent., in match making 56·7 per cent., and in vermicelli and maccaroni making 59·9 per cent. The proportion of female labour in home industries is very considerable; for Germany as a whole it is 43·9 per cent., but in the large towns it rises to 66 per cent. Certain branches are almost entirely confined to women. In silk spinning, stocking weaving, making and bleaching lace and embroidery, and hosiery, the proportion is between 90 and 100 per cent., whilst in other branches of the minor textile industries, the bent wood industries, and the gold and silver wire industries, it is between 80 and 90 per cent. Married women only represented 16·95 per cent. of those employed in work in 1882, whilst 19·95 per cent. were widows, and 63·1 per cent. single. According to the Report of the Commission appointed in connexion with the proposed amendment of the Industrial Code in 1891, the total number of married women employed in factories in the middle of August 1890 was 130,079; excluding those in spinning mills and brickyards (*Ziegeleien*), it was 103,798, of whom 42,761, or more than one-third, were employed in Prussia, and 21,900, or more than one-fifth, in Saxony. The proportion of married women to the total number of workpeople employed was 10 per cent. for the Empire as a whole; the smallest proportion, 5 per cent., was in the Lower Rhine provinces, and the largest, 14·5 per cent., in Brunswick. The cigar factories of Baden employ an unusually large number of married women; 9,866, or 68 per cent. of the total number of employés are women over 16 years of age, and 37·4 per cent. of these are married. In these factories, however, the work is paid by the piece, and there are no fixed hours. The textile industries of Alsace-Lorraine show an increase in the employment of married women; in 1875 they were 27·7 per cent. of the female employées, and in 1889 they were 46·5 per cent. The subjoined table gives the proportionate number per 1,000 of working men and women, exclusive of domestic servants, at various age periods:—

—	Men.	Women.
	Per 1,000.	Per 1,000.
Under 15 years	39·9	17·9
From 15–20	891·5	451·9
„ 20–30	963·4	319·8
„ 30–40	976·1	185·0
„ 40–50	970·4	219·7
„ 50–60	936·8	258·1
„ 60–70	798·0	227·1
Over 70	464·8	132·6

The great decrease in the number of middle-aged women employed is probably due to marriage, and the subsequent increase to the number of widows who are obliged to work for a livelihood. Between 1875 and 1882 the employment of female labour showed a much greater proportionate increase than that of male labour. Men in industry increased from 5,463,856 to 5,815,139, or 6·4 per cent.; but women increased from 1,116,095 to 1,506,743, or 35 per cent. In small industries, where competition is fiercest, the figures are still more remarkable, for here the increase amongst the men employed was only 1 per cent., whilst amongst women it was 40·2 per cent. In large industries men increased 15·8 per cent., and women 26·1 per cent.(1)

(ii.) Wages.

General statistics with regard to women's wages are very difficult to obtain, but the details given for Berlin and Breslau in the Statistics of Occupations, collected in 1882, have been tabulated, together with some of the results obtained for other towns in the inquiry into the wages of women employed in the clothing industries in 1887, and the Berlin general statistics for September 1891.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. III., p. 641. Art., "Frauenarbeit und Frauenfrage," Pierstorff. Kaempfe, "Die Lage der Industriell-thätigen Arbeiterinnen in Deutschland," 1889. Census of England and Wales, 1891, vol. III., 1893, p. 7.

TABLE A 2.

WOMEN'S WAGES in various Industries reckoned by the week.

Industries.	Berlin. 1882.	Berlin. 1891.	Breslau. 1882.	Stettin. 1887.	Posen. 1887.	Mülhausen. 1887.	Stuttgart. 1887.	Baden (Home Industries), 1892.
	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.
Clothing industries	9–11	—	6–9	4·80–7·20	12–15 (piece-work).*	—	—	
Making of underlinen	—	—	—	7·20–9·60 (piece-work).	3·0–3·60 or 9·0 (piece-work).	—	—.	
Women's wearing apparel	—	—	—	4·50–9·0		—	7·56	3·60 (stockings, &c.) 2·50 (gloves, corsets, and embroidery).
Men's „ „	—	—	—	3·60–6·0		—	7·32	
Boy's „ „	—	—	—	3·0		—	—	
Millinery	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Artificial flowers	4·50	—	—	—	—	—	—	3.
Apron makers	3–4	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Buttonhole and cravat makers	4–5	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Straw plaiting	—	—	3·50–4·50	—	—	—	—	1–4 (usually 1–1·50).
Lace making	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	
Buttons and passementerie	6–7	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Textile trades	8–9	11·26	5–6	—	—	—	—	
Spinners	—	—	4·80	—	—	10·20–12·0	—	
Weavers	—	—	—	—	—	7·20–14·40	—	4–5.
Weavers' assistants	—	—	—	—	—	8·40–8·80	—	
Calico printers	—	—	—	—	—	4·0–7·20	—	
Chemical industries	9–11	—	—	—	—	—	—	
German silver work	9–11	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Book-binding and printing	9–11	14·70	—	—	—	—	—	

* The wages here gained in Posen involved from 18 to 20 hours' work.

Industries.	Berlin. 1882.	Berlin. 1891.	Breslau. 1882.	Stettin. 1887.	Posen. 1887.	Mülhausen. 1887.	Stuttgart. 1887.	Baden (Home Industries), 1892.
	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.					Marks.
Small stationery	9–10	13·04	—	—	—	—	—	5–7 (cardboard boxes).
Food industries	9–10	12·12	6–8	—	—	—	—	
Bonbon and chocolate making	6–7	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Working in wood	9–10	12·34	—	—	—	—	—	
Glass manufacture	9–10	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Metal work	9–10	11·76–12·0	—	—	—	—	—	
Cigarette packing	—	—	4·50	—	—	—	—	
Laundry work	6–7	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Mother-of-pearl work	6–7	—	—	—	—	—	—	

The result would appear to show a general rise in women's wages in Berlin; outside Berlin, textile workers in Mülhausen receive the highest wages. Any comparison between Berlin and Breslau must take into account the difference in cost of living. Rent in Breslau is from 45 to 50 per cent. less than in Berlin, and the necessaries of life are considerably cheaper. According to the investigations made by Frau Minna Wettstein-Adelt in Chemnitz and its neighbourhood, the average wages still paid to women in Saxony accord more nearly with those given for Berlin and Breslau in 1882 than with the present Berlin wages. The same result will appear from the tables given below for Mannheim, which have been compiled by Herr Wörishoffer, chief inspector of factories for Baden. Frau Minna Wettstein-Adelt, who herself worked for several months in several factories, states that the wages paid to stocking sewers averaged from five to six marks a week; the best workwomen at busy seasons could make nine marks. In weaving mills girls earned on an average from 10 to 12 marks a week, and sometimes as much as 18 marks; in the country mills the average wages were as high as from 10 to 18 marks. Herr Wörishoffer gives the wages earned by men in 47 of the Mannheim factories, and by women in 19 factories as follows:—

TABLE A 3.

Class of Workers.	Over 5 Marks.	5 to 6 Marks.	6 to 8 Marks.	8 to 10 Marks.	10 to 12 Marks.	12 to 15 Marks.	15 to 18 Marks.	18 to 21 Marks.	21 to 24 Marks.	24 to 27 Marks.	27 to 30 Marks.	30 to 35 Marks.	Over 35 Marks.	Total.
Men and boys, total number	147	85	131	152	269	932	1,646	1,658	1,291	798	463	495	122	8,189
Women and girls, total number.	48	57	458	286	129	56	6	1	—	—	—	1	—	1,042
Men and boys, percentage of total.	1·80	1·03	1·59	1·86	3·28	11·38	20·11	20·27	15·76	9·75	5·65	6·04	1·48	—
Women and girls, percentage of total.	4·62	5·47	43·96	27·45	12·38	5·38	0·58	0·08	—	—	—	0·08	—	—

Taking wages above 24 marks a week as high, those between 15 marks and 24 marks as medium, and those below 15 marks as low, it will be found that the proportion of men, women, and of both together in these three classes is as follows:—

—	Low Wages.	Medium Wages.	High Wages.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Men and women together	29·8	49·8	20·4
Men alone	20·9	56·2	22·9
Women alone	99·2	0·7	0·1

Almost all the women, therefore, are in receipt of low wages, and of the 99·2 per cent., only 19·76 per cent. receive more than 10 marks a week. More than 70 per cent. receive less than 10 marks, or according to Dr. Wörishoffer, "a miserable pittance;" and as many as 54·05 per cent., or more than half, earn less even than eight marks.(1).

(iii.) General conditions.

When it is remembered that the cost of board and lodging for a single woman amounts in Mannheim, at any rate, to about five marks a week, it is clear that a weekly wage of from six to eight marks leaves little margin for clothes, or for sickness and unforeseen expenses. The temptations to which girls with such narrow means are exposed, are strongly insisted upon by Herr Bebel and the socialist writers generally, and used as an argument to prove the false basis upon which in their opinion society and the institution of the family rest. Without entirely accepting the very strong statements made as to the general level of morality amongst factory women in Germany by writers of a pronounced socialist tendency such as Frau Minna Wettstein-Adelt, it must be admitted that the evidence of the factory inspectors, and especially of so careful a writer as Herr Wörishoffer, indicates a deplorable state of things. The want of proper separation of the sexes whilst at work, the inadequacy of accommodation in factories, and the overcrowding in the workmen's dwellings, which makes it possible for working girls to lodge with a family inhabiting one or two rooms only and taking other lodgers of both sexes, have all contributed to produce the want of self-respect which characterises large sections of the women factory workers in Germany. Though the girls in the town factories present the roughest exterior, the moral level is said to be lowest amongst those working in country factories in the neighbourhood of large towns. Comparatively few women of the working classes belong to the Social Democratic party; according to Frau Minna Wettstein-Adelt, such as there are are drawn from amongst the married women. Efforts are being made, however, by women of the upper and middle classes to disseminate the more advanced views of the socialists with regard to the position of women amongst the factory workers. According to these views, which find their fullest expression in Herr Bebel's "Women and Socialism" (*Die Frau und der Sozialismus*) the existence of a society based upon competition and recognising only one form of legitimate marriage, drives women with diminishing earnings to support themselves by immorality, whilst, on the other hand, it postpones the period at which a man can undertake the support of a wife and family to an age far later than is dictated by nature. "Prostitution is, therefore, "an inevitable consequence of the *bourgeois* con-"stitution of society." Further, the absolute equality of the sexes, which the socialists maintain, points in their opinion to a free union terminable at will on either side, whenever circumstances or intellectual development require it, as the proper substitute for the present institution of the family. The desire for "legitimate" heirs is, according to Herr Bebel, a mere result of the "capitalist" organisation of society; when private property is superseded by collective

(1) Kaempfe, "Die Lage der Industriell-thätigen Arbeiterinnen in Deutschland," 1889, pp. 11–14. Wettstein Adelt, "3½ Monate Fabrikarbeiterin," 1893, pp. 8–17. Wörishoffer, "Die Lage der Fabrikarbeiter in Mannheim," 1892, pp. 140–145. "Die Lohnverhältnisse in Berlin im September 1891," Imperial Office of Statistics, 1892. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892–3, p. 514.

ownership, and there is, therefore, nothing for a man to bequeath to his children individually, it will, he thinks, appear that legitimacy and illegitimacy are terms merely relative to the reasonableness and appropriateness of the relation between the sexes which is to be regarded as a "personal matter only." In the society of the future "the woman is to be completely "free, and her children, if she has any, can in no way "diminish her freedom, but merely add to her "pleasure." She is to have the right "to seek fulness of life in whatever way seems best to her," and as the socialist writers declare "only where love is completely "free and the distinction between the legitimate and "the illegitimate is abolished" will society witness a return to the true principles upon which the relation of the sexes should be based. Family claims may be left out of account, because in the "state of the future" these details will be undertaken by the community, and apparently the moral restraint at present afforded by such responsibilities will be superseded by an intangible duty to the community. It is at least satisfactory to find that a period of previous education is commonly regarded as necessary; but it is difficult to see how this necessity is to be met, when such principles are propounded to hearers on the intellectual and moral level of the majority of factory women in Germany.(1)

(c.) Child labour.

The employment of child labour in Germany shows a considerable proportionate decrease as compared with the middle of the century, but at the same time a decided increase during the last few years. In 1853 the number of children employed in Prussian factories was 32,000; 8,000 were between 9 and 12 years of age, and 24,000 between 12 and 14. In 1888 and 1890 no children under 12 were to be found in Prussian factories, and the numbers of those between 12 and 14 were only 6,225 and 6,636. The abuses attendant upon the employment of children in the middle of the century have been described by Professor Thun, who states that in the textile industries of Gladbach and Aix-la-Chapelle it was not unusual to find children employed at only five or six years of age, and that the profits to be drawn from child labour of this kind were an encouragement to early marriages. In 1875, when an enquiry was made by the Federal Council into the question of the labour of women and children, the number of children employed throughout the German empire was 88,000, 24 per cent. of whom were between 12 and 14, and 76 per cent. between 14 and 16. The proportion of child to adult labour was about 1 to 10. The weekly wages of children between 12 and 14 varied from 1 mark to 9 marks, those of children between 14 and 16 from 1½ marks to 13½ marks; the average wage of the first class was 3 marks and that of the second 5 marks. No complete or continuous statistics of child labour in Germany are available, but its fluctuations can be traced in various districts. In Berlin, for instance, the number of children employed between 12 and 16 years of age increased from 1,998 in 1874 to 2,579 in 1879; the percentage of child labour to the total labour employed was 3·1 in the first year, and 4·6 in the last. In Baden the following figures were given:—

Year.	Children from 12 to 14	Young Persons from 14 to 16.
1874 - - -	2,883	6,932
1877 - - -	1,957	4,736
1880 - - -	1,332	5,511
1883 - - -	1,664	6,975
1886 - - -	1,603	7,619
1888 - - -	1,589	9,010
1889 - - -	2,215	10,436
1890 - - -	2,360	11,569

The Statistics of Occupations collected in 1882 give the proportion of children employed in that year in the following table:—

Table B. 1.

Division by Occupations.	Children under 15.	Young Persons from 15 to 20.	Percentage of all Persons employed in these Occupations.	
			Children under 15.	Young Persons from 15 to 20.
1. Agriculture, care of animals, and gardening.	291,289	1,497,621	3·59	18·44
2. Forestry, hunting, and fishing.	834	9,279	0·72	8·00
3. Manufactures, including mining and building.	143,262	1,114,303	2·24	17·42
4. Trade and transport, including inn-keeping, &c.	16,033	167,114	1·02	10·64
5. Household service and different kinds of work for wages.	4,948	30,885	1·24	7·77
6. State, communal, or Church employment.	4,108	54,115	0·71	6·55
Total -	460,474	2,873,317	2·61	16·30

The comparative employment of child labour in Italy, England and Wales, and the United States, at about the same period appears from the following table:—

Table B. 2.

Country.	Children under 15.	Proportion to Total Number of Persons engaged in Occupations.
Germany (June 5, 1882) -	524,158	2·76
Italy (December 31, 1881) -	1,072,397	7·08
England and Wales (April 4, 1881).	531,663	4·76
The United States (June 1, 1880).	1,118,356	6·43

Since 1882 the extent to which child labour is employed can be computed from the reports of the factory inspectors, which give the following results:—

Table B. 3.

Year.	Children from 12 to 14.	Young Persons from 14 to 16.	Total.
1882 - -	14,600	123,543	138,143
1883 - -	18,935	143,805	162,740
1884 - -	18,882	135,477	154,359
1886 - -	21,035	134,589	155,642
1888 - -	22,913	169,252	192,165
1890 - -	27,485	214,252	241,737

The great increase noticeable in 1890 is due in part to the inclusion of Alsace-Lorraine in that year, but even disregarding the 1,071 children and 10,168 young persons employed in those provinces, the record for the nine years shows an increase of 80 per cent. in the employment of children, and 65·2 per cent. in that of young persons. The factory inspectors state that on the whole this increase is not disproportionate to that of adult labour, but Dr. Stieda is of opinion that adult labour has scarcely advanced at so rapid a rate. The amount of child labour employed in certain specific industries between 1883 and 1890 is given in the following table:—

(1) Wörishoffer, "Die Lage der Fabrikarbeiter in Mannheim," 1891. Wettstein-Adelt, "3½ Monate Fabrikarbeiterin," 1893. Kaempfe, "Die Lage der Industriell-thätigen Arbeiterinnen in Deutschland," 1889. "Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts Beamten," 1891, pp. 94, 95, 247, 248. "Die Neue Zeit," Nos. 30 and 32, 1890-1, No. 17, 1891-2. Bebel, "Die Frau und der Sozialismus," 1892.

TABLE B. 4.

Groups of Trades.	1883.		1884.		1888.		1890.	
	Children from 12 to 14.	Young Persons from 14 to 16.	Children from 12 to 14.	Young Persons from 14 to 16.	Children from 12 to 14.	Young Persons from 14 to 16.	Children from 12 to 14.	Young Persons from 14 to 16.
Mining	1,076	16,075	964	15,920	889	18,078	843	22,730
Quarries	1,500	11,713	1,585	12,956	2,416	17,619	3,173	21,686
Metals	947	13,611	1,080	15,664	1,275	18,986	1,566	25,101
Machines	520	9,842	498	10,033	811	14,892	934	21,489
Chemical works	413	1,453	425	1,764	338	2,304	360	3,515
Heating and lighting apparatus.	45	370	43	403	30	595	52	853
Textile	6,943	34,748	6,906	37,671	8,004	46,024	9,404	58,038
Paper and leather	714	7,672	706	7,908	1,012	10,347	1,314	11,930
Wood cutting	686	3,901	669	4,522	1,229	6,650	1,358	8,771
Food products	4,306	12,972	4,308	4,264	5,287	17,836	6,340	20,517
Clothing and cleaning	520	4,126	796	5,288	904	6,797	1,212	8,398
Polygraphic	449	4,133	472	4,471	563	6,170	681	7,188
Different trades	276	3,789	251	3,418	155	2,954	248	4,066
Total	18,395	124,275	18,703	134,282	22,913	169,252	27,485	214,252

The districts in which there has been the greatest increase in the employment of children and young persons between 1888 and 1890 are Oppeln, Hesse, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Reuss, Magdeburg, Lübeck, and Hamburg, whilst the Posen, Breslau-Liegnitz, Hohenzollern, Leipzig, Neckar, and Upper Hesse districts show a considerable decrease. Nowhere do such abuses appear in connexion with child labour as in the region of home industries, and nowhere is it more difficult to arrive at the real extent of child labour. It is, however, known that amongst the silk and velvet weavers on the left bank of the Rhine, children are employed almost entirely as winders. In the Thüringian toy industry children are set to work to paint the toys and to do similar work as soon as they come out of school, and are often employed until night. The net makers and glove makers in the Taunus villages employ children from three years old and upwards for two or three hours a day in threading needles and putting on elastic bands. The inspector for the Zwickau district reports that he found young children at work up to half-past eight in the evening, many of whom were below the age at which they could be employed in a factory. It is very difficult to obtain facts with regard to work often carried on in the parents' homes; but there is every reason to conclude that though some reforms have been effected, child labour is still very largely employed in all industries of this kind. Dr. Emanuel Sax reported, that amongst the Thüringian match-makers children had been kept at work from midday on Saturday until 2 a.m. on Sunday, and after two hours' rest had been obliged to continue work until 8 a.m. or 10 a.m., when they were set free to go to church. The teachers in the Thüringian schools complained that after half-an-hour in school the children fell asleep, and that they were incapable of learning anything. In the same district children were employed from four in the morning till 11 in the evening, and that for a merely nominal wage. The result of such employment appears in the health statistics for military service; in the Mülhausen district only 207 out of 1,000 persons, who had reached the required age, or about 1 in 50, could be accepted as fit to serve. Where less than 20 hands are employed the factory inspectors have no jurisdiction, and the suggestion made in the Reichstag in 1891 to extend the new provisions of the Industrial Code to home industries was not carried out. Dr. Stieda points out that until some such extension comes into force there is reason to fear that the children now excluded from factories will press into the home industries, since there is nothing to prevent them but the necessity of school attendance, and this can be combined with a considerable number of hours of work.(1)

A.—MINING, IRON, ENGINEERING, SHIPBUILDING AND COGNATE TRADES.

1. *Mining.*

a. Mining laws. (i.) The law previous to the Mining Code of 1865.

In the present German Empire, as in Austria and Switzerland, mines were originally regarded as the property of the State; the ownership of the surface by private individuals carried with it no right to the subsoil, or to any minerals which it might contain. Under the older German Empire, of which the Grand Duke of Austria had become the head, the Imperial rights had been ceded to the Electoral princes (*Territorial*—or *Landesherren*), and according to the older German Common Law (*Gemeinrecht*), the latter were entitled to royalties from the persons working the mines This royalty carried with it the exclusive right to grant concessions to work mineral or salt mines; there was no inherent right of working attaching either to the landowner or to the discoverer of the mineral deposit. Indeed, the mining laws still simply represent a declaration on the part of the territorial sovereign, granting the right of prospecting for minerals and working a mine under certain definite conditions, but these conditions have been modified and minimised by successive codes The common law allowed no concessions to be granted for working salt, and where the common law has not yet been superseded, as in Mecklenburg, salt mining remains a State monopoly. In most concessions salt was specially excluded, and formerly all concessions contained a proviso that the occupant of the soil was at liberty to work the mine only when the State did not desire to reserve the working of that particular district for itself. The State mines at Saarbrücken and Stassfurt, and in Upper Silesia and the Harz Mountains remain to testify to the use made of that proviso. Mines worked by private individuals were still obliged to pay 10 per cent. of their gross produce to the State as the price of a concession. Mining by private individuals was also subject to State control in a number of details. The State regulated the engagement and discharge of miners, the fixing of wages, and the reckoning of profits and losses. The Saxon Mining Code of 1851, and the Austrian Mining Code of 1854 influenced the law and practice of other German States, and paved the way for the Prussian Mining Codes of 1860 and 1865. Both the Saxon and Austrian Codes preserved the State monopoly of salt, and the right of the State to reserve to itself any special mining area. With these exceptions, and with the exception of minerals paying a royalty, any person might obtain a right to prospect, and this right conferred a prior claim to a concession empowering him to work any mineral wealth which he might discover in his prospecting area. Mining was not any longer subjected to State control, except in so far as was necessary to ensure the safety of the miners.

In Prussia, between 1851 and 1865, the dues payable to the State by persons working mines gradually declined from 10 per cent. to 2 per cent. of the gross produce, whilst for iron ore they were abolished altogether. In 1860 a law was passed limiting State control to the enforcing of regulations for the safety of miners, and the prevention of so-called illicit encroachments (*Raubbau*). Finally, the Prussian Mining Code of June 24th, 1865, was passed, and has been since adopted in 12 out of the 26 States of the Empire, comprising eight-ninths of the surface, and nine-tenths of the mineral output. The States are Alsace-Lorraine, Anhalt, Bavaria, Brunswick, Hesse-Darmstadt, Prussia,

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. II., p. 395. Art.: "Beruf und Berufstatistik," v. Scheel, IV. p. 630. Art.: "Jugendliche Arbeiter," Stieda. Ziegler, "Die Sozialpolitischen Aufgaben auf dem Gebiete der Hausindustrie," 1890, pp. 74-81.

Reuss (younger branch), Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (for Gotha only), Saxe-Meiningen, Waldeck-Pyrmont, and Würtemberg. The Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar and the Principality of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen follow the Saxon Code, and in the remaining States, which are unimportant for mining purposes, a more or less modified form of the old common law remains in force.(1)

(ii.) The Prussian Mining Code of 1865.

The Prussian Mining Code of June 24th 1865 "is "founded on the principle of the liberty of working "mines by the first occupant, and treats such mines as "are within the scope of the Act as being free from "control on the part of the owner of the soil; it gives "the free right of search to everyone and everywhere "(subject to certain restrictions for the protection of "buildings), and gives the exclusive right of working "either to the first finder or to the first petitioner." This right is continued "subject to regulations and "inspection, unless some motive of public interest "justifies interference. The following table shows the "general division and rights of property in, and to "rents of, minerals in Prussia, and in German States "following the Prussian Mining Code":—

Mines.	Ownership.	Taxes and Royalties, to whom payable.	Remarks.
I. Gold, silver, mercury, iron (with the exception of iron found in marshes), lead, copper, tin, zinc, cobalt, nickel, arsenic, manganese, antimony, sulphur, aluminous and vitriolic minerals, coal, lignite and graphite, salt, and salt springs.	Usually in the first finder or claimant (instituted by the Government) or his assigns. In Pomerania this only refers to salt and salt springs.	To the Government, ordinarily 2 per cent. on the gross produce of the mine. Certain payments have also to be made to the miners' benefit funds (*Knappschaftskassen*). In some instances royalties are payable to private individuals under old laws kept in force by the modern Mining Acts.	This is the general effect of the Prussian Mining Law of 24th June 1865, which has been followed in most of the important mining States in Germany. In some such States, however, the rents are reserved on different principles, *e.g.*, in Bavaria, where a small fixed rent of about 3*d.* per hectare is reserved, and the tax or revenue from mines is valued and collected in the same manner as the tax on incomes from other sources, and in the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, where the rent varies as regards manganese, whilst all other mines pay 4 per cent. on the gross products.
II. All other metals and minerals.	In surface owner	If let, to the owner of the surface.	

The gross produce or output, upon which the royalty of 2 per cent. due to the State is reckoned, includes all produce of the mine actually sold, as well as what is used for the consumption of the mine itself, or by the owners. According to Mr. Mulvany, Her Majesty's Consul at Düsseldorf, there is some reason to think that this tax will be shortly abolished. The law gives the person working a mine the right to occupy any land necessary to his working, with the exception of residences, private buildings, and courts, at an annual rent. The surface owner cannot be forced to sell, but, on the other hand, he can oblige the person working the mine to buy the land, if it is occupied, or certain to be occupied, for more than three years. Where the occupation is only temporary, the worker of the mine may be required to give security against permanent damage. He is responsible for all damage caused to the surface by his workings, whether by his fault or not. Concessions may be forfeited, if such a procedure appears to be necessary in the public interest, as, for instance, in the case of mines which are no longer being worked by the present holders; but though the number of such mines is considerable, and there has been a demand for the application of this clause, the Prussian Government have not made any use of it for 20 years. Special provisions are made for the safety of the works, the protection of life and health of the workmen, the protection of the surface, and protection against workings which might be detrimental to the public interests.(2)

(iii.) The Saxon Mining Law of 1868.

The Saxon Mining Code of 1851 has been superseded by a law of 1868, which differs from the Prussian Mining Code, in leaving to the surface owner the right of working coal and lignite. This right can only be exercised after receiving permission from the Government; but this permission cannot be refused, unless the working area is insufficient. By a law of October 10th, 1864, the tax payable to the State was fixed at 3 francs 75 centimes per hectare for mines of gold and silver, and 2 francs 50 centimes per hectare for other mines. In Saxe-Weimar and Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, on the contrary, the mines have to pay a tax on the gross produce, at the rate of 5 per cent. According to the Saxon Law concessions are granted, not to the first finder, but to the first claimant, and if several claimants present themselves simultaneously the concession is granted to them in common.(1)

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. II., p. 368. Art.: "Bergbau (allegemeinrechtliche und polizeiliche Verhältnisse)," Arndt.

(2) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. II., p. 368. Art.: "Bergbau (allegemeinrechtliche und polizeiliche Verhältnisse)," Arndt. Report of Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, 1893, Appendix C. pp. 150–157.

b. Statistics of production. (i.) Coal.

Until 1870, Germany stood second only to the United Kingdom amongst the coal-producing countries of the world; but since that period it has been surpassed by the United States, and now stands third in order, whilst France follows at a considerable interval.

The following table shows the comparative production and its value for the eight chief coal-producing countries of the world:—

TABLE C. 1.—PRODUCTION OF BITUMINOUS AND ANTHRACITE COAL (STEINKOHL).

Year.	Great Britain.	United States(*)	Germany.	France.	Belgium.	Austria-Hungary.	Russia.	New South Wales.
I.—AMOUNT IN MILLIONS OF TONS.(†)								
1850	64·66‡	—	5·18	4·43	5·82	0·58	0·05	0·17
1860	80·04	15·20	12·35	8·31	9·61	1·95	0·13	0·37
1870	110·43	32·86	26·40	13·33	13·70	4·30	0·68	0·87
1875	131·67	47·43	37·44	16·50	15·01	5·19	1·68	1·33
1880	146·82	70·48	46·97	18·80	16·89	6·70	3·25	1·47
1885	159·35	99·07	58·32	19·07	17·44	8·34	4·23	2·88
1887	162·12	116·05	60·33	20·81	18·38	8·58	—	2·92
II.—VALUE IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING.(§)								
1850	16·17	—	1·52	—	1·85	0·24	—	0·02
1860	20·01	—	3·95	—	4·28	0·60	—	0·23
1870	27·61	—	8·17	—	5·94	1·70	—	0·32
1875	46·16	—	14·87	—	9·19	2·15	—	0·82
1880	62·40	—	12·28	9·65	6·78	2·35	—	0·62
1885	41·14‖	31·80	15·14	8·97	6·18	2·72	—	1·34
1887	39·09	36·51	15·55	8·87	5·90	2·66	—	1·35

(*) Including also lignite or peat coal.
(†) Reckoning the ton as 1,000 kilo, except in Great Britain, where it is 1,016 kilo, and in the United States, where it is 1,016·96 kilo.
(‡) These figures are for 1854.
(§) These values have been reduced to the same denomination on the assumption that £1 = 20 m. = 25 francs = 10 gulden.
(‖) A new method of valuation was introduced in 1882.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. II., p. 368. Art.: "Bergbau (allegemeinrechtliche und polizeiliche Verhältnisse)," Arndt. Report of Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, 1893, Appendix C. p. 152.

The total output of bituminous and anthracite coal, classed together as mineral coal in Germany, amounted to 65,386,100 tons in 1888, of which 59,472,500 tons came from Prussia. The Prussian output increased in 1889 to 61,436,991 tons and in 1890 to 64,373,816 tons. The subjoined table shows the proportion produced in each of the chief mining districts of Prussia in 1888 and 1889:—

TABLE C 2.

District.	Year.	Tons.	Year.	Tons.
Breslau	1888	17,642,284	1889	19,000,875
Halle	„	22,594	„	25,469
Klausthal	„	497,295	„	572,993
Dortmund	„	33,223,614	„	33,855,110
Bonn	„	8,086,713	„	7,982,544

From this it appears that the Dortmund district is by far the most productive and most important, whilst the Silesian coalfields come second, and the Bonn district, which includes the Aix la Chapelle mines and the Saarbrücken State mines, is third.

The average price of coal at the pit's mouth in the Dortmund district is given in the following table:—

TABLE C 3.

Year.	Marks.
	Per Ton.
1872	8·59
1873	10·95
1874	10·98
1875	7·21
1876	6·09
1877	4·94
1878	4·45
1879	4·15
1880	4·57
1881	4·58
1882	4·19
1883	4·60
1884	5·54
1885	5·38
1886	5·44
1887	5·43
1888	5·93
1889	8·50
1890	11·47
1891	10·04

The figures for 1872–84 inclusive are taken from the returns of the Mining Association (*Bergbauverein*), an association of mine owners, which states that in most collieries the selling price between 1872 and 1882 was below the cost of production. The figures for 1884–91 are taken from the returns of the Chamber of Commerce. The figures for the same district illustrate the degree in which the output per man has been increased by the improved methods gradually introduced:—

Year.	Product per Miner.
	Tons.
1857	129
1862	191
1867	220
1872	209
1877	241
1882	290
1883	307
1884	305
1888	314·60
1889	308·22
1890	290·32
1891	265·00

"The falling off since 1889 is attributed to the strike" and to the increased contract prices for work" (*see* below, p. 48).

Besides the more valuable mineral coal a large amount of peat or lignite coal is produced in Germany; indeed Germany stands first among European countries in this respect, and it is impossible to compare its product with that of the United States, since the American statistics do not distinguish this kind of coal from others. The following table gives the comparative statistics for the four chief European countries producing this inferior coal:—

TABLE C 4.—OUTPUT of LIGNITE COAL.

Year.	Germany.	Austria.	Hungary.	France.
I.—AMOUNT IN MILLIONS OF TONS.				
1850	1·52	0·36	—	—
1860	4·38	1·31	0·24	—
1870	7·61	3·46	0·54	—
1875	10·37	6·85	0·82	0·45
1880	12·14	8·42	1·01	0·56
1885	15·36	10·51	1·59	0·44
1890	15·90	11·57	1·72	0·48
II.—VALUE IN MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING.				
1850	0·20	0·10	—	—
1860	0·66	0·30	0·05	—
1870	1·10	0·77	0·24	—
1875	1·84	1·54	0·26	—
1880	1·83	1·53	0·27	0·21
1885	2·02	1·82	0·45	0·18
1890	2·01	1·89	0·50	0·17

(ii.) Metals.

The total production of metals in Germany for the year 1887 is shown in the following table:—

TABLE C 5.

Metal.	Output in Tons.	Value in Marks.
Iron:—		
Iron ore	9,351,100	34,005,272
Pig iron	4,023,953	166,442,606
Copper:—		
Copper ore	507,587	14,551,715
Copper	21,264	18,344,912
Lead:—		
Lead ore	157,570	15,923,240
Lead	99,366	23,538,779
Zinc:—		
Zinc ore	900,712	10,022,099
Zinc	130,494	36,597,406
Tin:—		
Tin ore	126	165,002
Tin	422	744,236
Silver and gold:—		
Silver and gold ore	25,726	4,177,720
Silver	367,633 (kilos.)	48,158,010
Gold	2,251 („)	6,281,480
Manganese and antimony:—		
Ore	38,387·1	1,022,926
Nickel	711	3,896,197
Antimony	57	59,323

In metal-mining, as in coal-mining, the increase in the product is much greater in proportion than that in the number of miners employed. Between 1861 and 1865 the average number of men employed in iron mines was 23,952; in 1887 it was 32,969, an increase of 37·6 per cent., as against an almost fourfold increase in the output. Zinc miners increased by 39·8 per cent. during the same period, whilst the total product of zinc increased threefold. In the copper mines three times as many men were employed in 1887 as in 1865, but the product was four times as great. The average number of miners employed in 1887, excluding coal miners, was 90,869, and the total product was 12,640,400 tons, giving a *per capita* product of 139 tons; between 1861 and 1865 the average number employed was 68,839, the total product 3,272,900 tons, and the product per miner only 48 tons.

(iii.) Other minerals.

The total product of salt and other minerals in Germany during the year 1887 is given in the following table[1]:—

[1] Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. II., p. 376. Art.: "Bergbaustatistik," Francke. Report of Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, 1893, Appendix C. pp. 160, 161.

TABLE C 6.

Mineral.	Product in Tons	Value in Marks.
Rock salt - - -	405,400	1,862,000
Nitrate of potash - -	1,080,100	12,846,000
Sulphur - - -	2,286	242,098
Graphite - - -	2,960	186,342

c. Conditions of labour. (i.) Wages. Actual wages.

According to the Report furnished by Mr. Mulvany, Her Majesty's Consul at Düsseldorf, to the Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, "the greater part of the "work, as in England, is done by contract, the prices "varying according to local circumstances, the capa- "bilities of the men, and the state of trade; there is "no fixed general principle upon which the prices are "determined, nor is there as yet any . . rising "and falling scale in proportion to the market prices "of the minerals." Mr. Mulvany further states that "the wages of miners in mines, the property of and "worked by the State, are somewhat better than in "those of companies or private parties." He adds, however, that "it is to be doubted that the economic "position on the whole is better, and, to judge from "the strikes of late years, the miners are just as dis- "contented and difficult to deal with under Govern- "ment management as under that of private parties." The general discontent felt by German miners with their wages found expression in the important general strike of May 1889, and in the Government mines, especially in the subsequent strike of December 1892. The subjoined Table D 1, compiled in 1890 from official sources, gives the average wages paid during the first quarter of that year, and represents, therefore, the increased rate obtained in all the principal districts after the strike of 1889 :—

TABLE D 1.—AVERAGE WAGES and HOURS of the Separate Classes of Workmen per Working Day or Shift in the Chief Mining Districts during the First Quarter of 1890.

Mining District of	Miners proper employed underground.	Other Workmen employed underground.	Male Adults working overground.	Boys under 16 years of Age.	Female Workpeople.	Hours of Underground Workmen.†
I. Breslau:—	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	
1. Mineral coal mining in Upper Silesia.	2·62	2·27	2·02	0·85	0·87	10 per cent. 8 hours; 33 per cent. 10 hours; 57 per cent. 12 hours, from bank to bank.
2. Mineral coal mining in Lower Silesia.	2·62	2·47	2·14	1·04	1·27	12 per cent. 8 hours; 88 per cent. 10 hours, from bank to bank.
II. Halle:—						
1. Peat coal mining - -	2·65	2·34	2·17	1·28	1·26	11·6 hours from bank to bank.
2. Cupriferous slate mining	3·27	2·81	2·90	1·45	—	9 hours „ „
3. Rock salt mining - -	3·42	3·38	3·10	1·25	—	8·4 hours.
III. Klausthal*:—						
1. State ore mining in the Upper Harz.	2·29	2·49	1·69	0·62	—	10·3 hours from bank to bank
IV. Dortmund:—						
1. Mineral coal mining -	4·00	2·89	2·79	1·23	—	8 hours at the face (6 hours in very hot places).
V. Bonn:—						
1. State mineral coal mining near Saarbrücken.	3·89	3·07	2·86	1·48	—	8 hours at the face.
2. Mineral coal mining in Aix-la-Chapelle.	3·32	2·64	2·40	1·12	1·26	9·6 hours from bank to bank.
3. Ore mining right of Rhine.	2·80	2·64	2·13	1·21	1·11	8·6 hours.
4. Ore mining left of Rhine	2·41	2·49	2·12	0·95	0·90	8·9 hours.

* Flour worth on an average 0·14 per shift is given in addition to wages in this district.

† The working hours overground are, in general, 10·12 hours, including meal times.

From this it would appear that the conditions, both with regard to remuneration and to working hours, are most favourable in the Dortmund, or Westphalian district, which has already been shown (*see* p. 44) to be by far the most productive. This table scarcely bears out Mr. Mulvany's view that the Government pay better wages to their employés than are paid by private companies, but the State mines at Saarbrücken do not fall far below Dortmund as regards the wages of miners proper, and show some advance in the case of other classes of workers. It will appear also from Table D 3, and from subsequent information, that the average wages paid at Saarbrücken are higher than those in the Dortmund district. The great difference noticeable between the wages paid in Silesia and those in the chief coal-producing districts of Western Germany must be considered in connexion with the statement made in the "Journal of the Royal Prussian Statistical Office" to the effect that the prices of food in Silesia are far lower than those in Westphalia and Saarbrücken. The real wages, therefore, approximate more closely to those of the better organised districts than the nominal wages, but still the Silesian miners are remarkable for the lowness of their educational standard and their utter want of organisation. The migration statistics given in Table W 4, p. 97, point to the presence amongst them of a large number of Austrian Poles. Women are, apparently, employed only in the districts paying comparatively low wages to above-ground workers, and are not employed at all in connexion with the State mines. The wages paid to salt miners in the Halle district are comparatively high, and, indeed, come first in the comparison of annual wages in certain districts for several previous years, as indicated in the subjoined table :—

TABLE D 2.—ANNUAL WAGES of Underground Workers in Prussian Mines.[1]

District.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.
	M.	M.	M.	M.
Mineral coal mines in Upper Silesia.	—	536	537	565
Lignite or peat coal mines in Halle district.	719	714	695	721
Copper mines in Halle district -	861	748	718	779
Salt mines in Halle district -	968	958	928	905
State ore mines in the Upper Harz.	682	662	669	670
Mineral coal mines in Dortmund district.	—	848	886	936
State mineral coal mines at Saarbrücken.	863	836	857	885

(1) These figures represent the net annual wage, after deducting the contributions to the sick funds and the charges for powder, &c.

These wages do not, however, represent the present rate in the coal districts, since they are prior to the strike of 1889. The difference between the Westphalian and Saarbrücken mines on the one hand, and the Silesian mines on the other, comes out very clearly in the subjoined table giving the proportion of workers in each wage class in the month of March 1889:—

TABLE D 3.—CLASSIFIED WAGES PER SHIFT in the Dortmund and Saarbrücken Districts, and in Upper and Lower Silesia, with Percentage of Workmen in each Wage Class.

District.	From 5·50 Marks to 6 Marks.	From 5 Marks to 5·50 Marks.	From 4·50 Marks to 5 Marks.	From 4 Marks to 4·50 Marks.	From 3·50 Marks to 4 Marks.	From 3 Marks to 3·50 Marks.	From 2·50 Marks to 3 Marks.	From 2 Marks to 2·50 Marks.	From 1·50 Marks to 2 Marks.	From 1 Mark to 1·50 Marks.	From 0·50 Marks to 1 Mark.
1. Dortmund—											
March 1889	7·1				18·3	24·2	19·8	23·1	7·5	—	—
July 1889	25·3				20·1	15·5	19·3	15·7	4·1	—	—
2. Saarbrücken—										0·87	
March 1889	0·02	0·58	1·85	8·54	22·08	31·00	19·93	10·13	5·00		
3. Upper Silesia—											
March 1889	0·00	0·00	0·06	1·14	1·14	4·93	14·72	19·02	31·16	17·61	11·02
4. Lower Silesia—											
March 1889	0·01	0·04	0·04	0·38	0·38	2·97	18·52	31·39	34·46	9·39	2·74

Note.—The figures for the Dortmund district show the advance granted after the strike of May 1889.

According to these statistics 49·6 per cent., or practically half, of the Dortmund miners earned more than 3*s.* a day in March 1889; and 69·4 per cent., or more than two-thirds, earned more than 2*s.* 6*d.* The record of the Saarbrücken mines is more favourable; here the proportion earning over 3*s.* was 64·09 per cent., or nearly two-thirds, whilst 10·99 per cent. earned 4*s.* and more. In Upper Silesia, on the other hand, no fewer than 93·53 per cent. earned a daily wage of less than 3*s.*, whilst in Lower Silesia the percentage was as great as 96·50. In Upper Silesia 18·63 per cent. earned less than 1*s.* 6*d.* a day, and in Lower Silesia 12·13 per cent. The advance granted in the Dortmund district after the strike of 1889 is very clearly indicated by the great increase in the percentage of miners in the higher wage classes. In place of 49·6 per cent. earning over 3*s.* a day, the proportion in July 1889 was 60·9 per cent., or about three-fifths, whilst the percentage earning 2*s.* 6d. and over had risen from 69·4 per cent. to 80·2 per cent. About one-fourth of the men employed earned over 4*s.* a day. Similar figures are, unfortunately, not attainable in the Saarbrücken district, but official records show that in October 1892 the average wage for all workers in the State mines was 3·90 marks a day, whilst the hewers received on an average 4·55 marks. Since the proportion in March 1889 earning over 3·50 marks was only 33·07 per cent., the general advance must have been considerable. In Silesia there has been a gradual rise since 1879, although the standard is still very far below that in the other mining districts.(1)

Method of fixing.

The evidence given before the Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the miners in the coal industry, appointed by the German Emperor in 1890, indicates a widespread feeling of discontent with the method of fixing wages. As a rule mining is carried on on the contract system, and payment is arranged by the piece. Thus "a body of miners agree with the "mining officials on the spot to do a particular piece "of work, measured either by volume or weight, at a "particular price. The amount of the contract price "varies with the greater or less difficulty of working "the coal in this particular locality . . . the ruling "temperature, and also the general advantages and dis-"advantages of the working place." The contracts are, as a rule, for one month; but before the strike of 1889, what were known as "main contracts" (*Hauptgedinge*) were often made for three months, and in the Saarbrücken State mines, at any rate, sold by auction to the body of miners offering to undertake the work at the lowest price. The result was an undue depression of wages, and since 1889 the custom has been abolished. Complaints were made in the Dortmund district that in the smaller mines the agreements were often merely verbal, and that in the larger mines the general manager found it impossible to go down into all the shafts on the first day of the month, so that the contracts were concluded with subordinates. Then when the manager, in the course of the month, came to examine them, he did not hesitate to alter them, so that it was impossible for the miners to know beforehand what they would be likely to receive. The Commission were of opinion that written contracts should be substituted for verbal ones, and that they should be entered in a book, to which every miner could have immediate access. This system is already in use in Lower Silesia.(1)

Deductions

In the Saarbrücken and Aix-la-Chapelle districts it is customary to make a deduction from the wages of the younger workers in a shift, whether haulers (*Schlepper*), as at Saarbrücken, or hewers (*Lehrhauer*), as at Aix-la-Chapelle. The sum deducted is divided amongst the elder members of the shift, so that the employers gain nothing; but the abolition of the system has been demanded by a party amongst the miners. Deductions are made for powder and lights, and the amount of these deductions, as well as of the fines inflicted, formed one of the grievances of the strikers in 1889. On the termination of that strike the employers agreed to furnish necessaries at cost price, and the evidence given before the Commission of 1890 showed that the average deductions from the wages of underground workmen in the Dortmund district was 16 pf., or about 2*d.* per shift, and in the Saarbrücken district 12 pf., or about 1½*d.* Deductions are also made for the subscriptions to the Miners' Friendly Societies in accordance with the Sick Insurance Law of 1883, and the Old Age and Invalid Insurance Law of 1889 (*see* pp. 73–85). It does not appear that the fines inflicted have been really excessive, though complaints to that effect have frequently been made by the miners. It is, however, admitted that the infliction of fines has sometimes been left to subordinate officials. In the Dortmund district the fines rarely exceed 3*s.*, though larger amounts have occasionally been deducted for habitual absence from work. At Saarbrücken and Aix-la-Chapelle, as well as in Lower Silesia, the maximum fine is 6*s.*, but at Aix-la-Chapelle it is said to be rare to exact more than 6*d.*; whilst in Lower Silesia the average is from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* In all the districts fines are paid over to the benefit funds. The grant of coal for the men's own consumption is nowhere taken into account in fixing the wages; but in Lower Silesia the miners receive, as a rule, 8 cwt. a month, and in other districts it is supplied to them at a reduced price.(2)

(ii.) Hours.

The normal hours of work in the various districts have already been indicated in Table D 1 (*see* p. 47). The shortest working day is to be found in the districts paying the highest wages, the longest in Upper Silesia, where the wages are lowest. With a very few exceptions, due to unusual conditions of temperature, eight hours at the face represents the shortest duration of the shift in the coal mines of the Dortmund and Saarbrücken districts, and the miners have as yet failed to obtain the eight hours from bank to bank, for which

(1) Denkschrift über die Untersuchung der Arbeiter und Betriebsverhältnisse in den Steinkohlen-Bezirken, 1890. Report of Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, 1893, Appendix C., pp. 155-197. Schulze, "Die Lage der Bergarbeiter," 1893, p. 8.

(1) Denkschrift über die Untersuchung der Arbeiter und Betriebsverhältnisse in den Steinkohlen-Bezirken, 1890. Report of Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, 1893, Appendix C. pp. 161–169.

(2) Denkschrift über die Untersuchung der Arbeiter und Betriebsverhältnisse in den Steinkohlen-Bezirken, 1890. Report of Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, 1893, Appendix C., pp. 162–169.

they struck in 1889. Before that strike, however, shifts of 8½, 9, and 9½ hours were to be met with even in the Dortmund district. Both here and in Lower Silesia the inspectors have issued a regulation prohibiting more than six hours' work where the temperature exceeds 29 Celsius (Fahr. 84·2). In the Saxon coal mines the hours of a shift vary from eight to 12 in the different mines, with longer or shorter pauses; but an eight hours shift at the face, including a half-hour's interval, is the most usual. In metal mines the hours vary from six to 12; in peat-coal mines they are 12 from bank to bank.(1)

Overtime. In all the mining districts there is a large amount of overtime work known technically as "extra shifts" (*Ueberschichten*). Between October 1888 and April 1889 most of the coal mines in the Dortmund district worked from two to four extra shifts a week, in many cases six. The duration of such an extra shift is as a rule from two to four hours, but it is sometimes prolonged to six or eight. In Upper and Lower Silesia overtime work is of such frequent occurrence as to have become confused with the normal hours, and some extreme cases are reported from Upper Silesia. In one instance the hewers, after working 12 hours, were obliged to continue for another seven, and in another case the Sunday night shift's work was prolonged until six o'clock on Monday evening. This overtime work does not appear to be entirely voluntary in any of the districts. The mine owners professed ignorance before the Commission of any compulsion, but the Commission were on the whole of opinion that the evidence gave indications of pressure put upon unwilling miners by a refusal to allow them to ascend without a written permission, and by the imposition in some cases of fines. Further, the conditions under which extra shifts are allowed by the mining regulations are often so vaguely expressed as to admit of a very wide interpretation. In every district they have been made to cover not only emergencies arising from accident, but also any occasion on which there was a special demand for coal. The mine owners urge, on the other hand, that if they could not meet the increased demand of the winter season by a certain number of extra shifts, they would be compelled to employ extra hands, who would be without work in the summer and whose want of experience would constitute a special source of danger.(2)

Time lost. A large amount of time is lost by individual miners, since it is the custom of very many to miss a shift after Sundays, pay-days and holidays. Thus between January and April 1889 no fewer than 1,267 shifts were missed in the mine Friedrich der Grosse, and the managers, finding that the infliction of fines failed to check the evil, offered a premium of 5*s*. a month to any miner working all the shifts and earning over 100 marks. In another mine in the Dortmund district 2,480 shifts were lost in five months, whilst in a Silesian mine 1,185 were lost in three months.(3)

(iii.) Other conditions. Fourteen days' notice is required for the termination of the contract between workman and employer, and failure to give this notice in the event of a strike renders the miners liable an action for damages (*see* p. 32). There is a general inspector of mines with subordinate mining boards in each of the chief mining districts. The boards are composed of experts trained for this particular service and required to pass graduated examinations. The detailed supervision of the mines is carried out by subordinate inspectors. Every serious or fatal accident must be immediately reported to the inspector, who investigates the case on the spot and then reports to the Mining Board. This Board has extensive powers and may issue regulations prohibiting the use of explosives, prescribing safety lamps, suspending the working of dangerous seams, or even closing a mine altogether. The board also decides the number and strength of the pillars which must be left standing, and many other practical details of the work. The inspectors are required to test all mechanical appliances and to make frequent investigations into the ventilation of the mines. The Saxon mines are specially dangerous and accidents are very numerous, but the proportion of fatal accidents is said to be small. In the Saarbrücken mines accidents are reported to be very frequent. Out of 30,000 members of the Miners' Friendly Society for the district 3,578, or more than one in ten, was injured more or less severely during the year. A great deal of the work in these mines has to be carried on in a recumbent position, and the impossibility of avoiding the falling coal under such circumstances leads to a number of casualties. With regard to the housing of the miners an official report states that the mine owners are growing more solicitous for the welfare of their men, and are, therefore, more careful to see that there is a supply of suitable houses. In the Saarbrücken district a very large number of the miners own their own houses, whilst in the Harz and Halle districts there are a fair number of house owners, though the proportion is less than half as great. In Westphalia the mine owners have provided a very large number of dwellings.(1)

(1) Denkschrift über die Untersuchung der Arbeiter und Betriebsverhältnisse in den Steinkohlen-Bezirken, 1890. Report of Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, 1893, pp. 162–169.
(2) Denkschrift über die Untersuchung der Arbeiter und Betriebsverhältnisse in den Steinkohlen-Bezirken, 1890. Report of Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, 1893, Appendix C. pp. 162–169.
(3) Report of Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, 1893, Appendix C. pp. 162–169. Denkschrift über die Untersuchung der Arbeiter and Betriebs-verhältnisse in den Steinkohlen-Bezirken, 1890.

2. *Iron, Engineering, Ship-building and Cognate Trades.*

(i.) Wages in 1890, 1891, and 1892. According to the Reports of the Factory Inspectors 1891 was a prosperous year for the metal industries generally, and especially for the iron ship-builders of Lübeck. In the Bremen district, however, and in the province of Schleswig generally, the ship-building industry was in a depressed condition, and there were many complaints of the scarcity of good workmen. Owing to the absence of any general system of collecting wage statistics for the empire at large it is almost impossible to give an accurate statement of the average wages in any particular industry. The nearest approach to a general statement with any pretensions to exactitude is to be found in the statistics collected by the employers' trade associations for the purposes of accident insurance; but the wages are here given for the year, and no statement is made of the amount of time worked, nor is there any classification of the workmen according to age, sex, kind of work, or amount earned by each. Detailed statements of the wages paid in Berlin during September 1891, have been published by the Imperial Office of Statistics, and the Factory Inspector for the Oppeln district has compiled a table of wages in the metal industry for 1890 and 1891. Any comparison between these different sets of figures has, however, only a very relative value, since it is impossible to ascertain whether they are calculated on a similar basis.

According to the Accident Insurance Statistics the annual wages may be estimated as follows:—

	M.
Rhenish Westphalian forges and rolling mills	1,002
Rhenish Westphalian machine factories	894
North Western iron and steel industry	984
North-Eastern iron and steel industry	884
South-Western iron industry	843
Southern iron and steel industry	837
Saxon Thuringia iron and steel industry	828
South German fine and base metal industry	753
North German fine and base metal industry	748
Silesian iron and steel industry	606

With regard to these figures it may be remarked that, just as in the mining industry, the wages paid in Silesia are lower than those for the rest of Germany. This appears, further, in the following rough comparison of the wages paid in the Oppeln district and in Berlin:—

District.	*Journeymen.	†Labourers.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.
	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.
Oppeln—					
First half 1890	422·57	266·90	162·56	149·59	—
„ „ 1891	455·35	277·12	154·16	147·95	—
Average per week 1891	17·51	10·65	5·93	5·69	—
Berlin—					
Metal workers per week, Sept. 1891.	22·18	17·98	11·97	8·62	7·00
Engineers, per week, Sept. 1891.	21·00	17·44	11·07	5·36	9·00

From these figures it would appear that in the Oppeln district, where the arithmetic mean between the highest and lowest wages has been taken for the half-year and then divided by 26 to obtain the weekly average, the wages of women are only about half as much

* Berlin "Skilled labour."
† Berlin "Unskilled labour."
(1) Denkschrift über die Untersuchung der Arbeiter und Betriebsverhältnisse in den Steinkohlen-Bezirken, 1890. Report of Royal Commission on Mining Royalties, 1893, Appendix C. pp. 155–157. 209. Schulze. "Die Lage der Bergarbeiter," 1893, pp. 9–11. Zeitschrif für das Berg Hütten-und Salinenwesen im preussischen Staate, 1892.

as those paid to male unskilled labourers and approximate very closely to the wages of boys. In Berlin, on the other hand, women's wages are about two-thirds of those paid to unskilled labour, and twice as much as those of boys. Skilled labour in Silesia appears only to command the same wages as unskilled labour in Berlin. The wages of women and boys are found to have declined between 1890 and 1891, whilst those of men have risen during the same period. A more detailed statement of the wages obtained in Berlin in September 1891, abstracted out of the general tables given by the Imperial Office of Statistics, is here appended:—(1)

TABLE E.

Class of Workmen.	Weekly Average Wages as given by				
	Private Establishments.	Guilds.	Sick Funds.	Unions.	Government Works.
	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.
Gold and silversmiths	25·50–27·15	21	11·50–23·50	17–18	—
Ironfounders	24·11	24	20	18	19·68
Iron moulders	28·73	—	20	22·50–30·00	—
Coppersmiths	22·28	24	—	24	19·68
Tinsmiths	22·28	24	—	18–21	16·68
Smiths	24·	—	—	—	16·68–19·68
Locksmiths	22·92–27·95	21	18	22	16·68–19·68
Cutlers	19·08–20·02	—	—	—	—

Note.—The wages paid in Government works wherever they appear in the Berlin statistics appear to average less than in other establishments.

(ii.) Hours.

The hours of work in the metal and ship-building industries appear to vary between 10 and 12, but in the smaller workshops this limit is sometimes exceeded. In the Magdeburg district 15 factories were said to work over 12 hours, 16 over 11 hours, and the rest from 10 to 11 hours. In the Düsseldorf district the hours are similar, but shifts in small workshops are said to be, as a rule, 14 hours, with from 12 to 12½ hours' actual labour, and in exceptional cases even 16 hours, with from 14 to 15 hours' labour. The work in large foundries is performed in two shifts, changing, as a rule, every 12 hours. In the forges of Aix-la-Chapelle a 12-hour shift is the rule, but the working hours in the metal workshops and factories are from 10 to 11.(2)

(iii.) Other conditions.

The employment of boys in the metal industries is deprecated by the factory inspector for Siegmaringen, on the ground that the work makes too great demands upon their strength, and that the conditions of temperature are such as they are not calculated to withstand. The employment of women appears to be on the increase in some districts, in spite of the dangerous character of the work. In the Cassel district 559 women and 136 girls between the ages of 14 and 16 were employed in 1891, a proportion of about one in nine as compared with the men and boys of that age. Accidents are reported to be very numerous and severe, and the inspectors urge that the men should be careful to wear clothing as little inflammable as possible, in view of the large number of cases in which their clothes have caught fire.(3)

B.—TRANSPORT, AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY.

1. *Transport.*

a. Railways. (i.) Attitude of the State.

Up to 1870 private ownership of railways was the rule in Germany, and State ownership was the exception; but the difficulties experienced in effecting the necessary transport of troops during the Franco-German war gave birth to the idea, which has since gained ground, that the State should not only control the railway lines but take them over and work them in the public interest. Railways in Germany have not been included amongst Imperial means of transport, and for the most part the individual States are allowed the exclusive exercise of sovereign rights (*Hoheitsrechte*) with respect to them. According to the constitution of the German Empire, however (Art. 4, Sect. 8), railways are declared subject to Imperial control and regulation, and Division VII. of the constitution recognises a number of important principles with regard to the establishment of a uniform system of government for railways throughout the Empire. These have not yet been embodied in any Act. In the matter of granting concessions for new railways the State Governments are left entirely free from Imperial intervention with the following exceptions. The Imperial Government, with the consent of the Federal Council and the Reichstag, may establish new lines of railway, to be either worked by the State or conceded to private companies. This can only be done by passing a special Act, and in cases where such a measure is demanded in the interests of national defence or for the facilitation of general traffic. In Bavaria the power of the Imperial Government to pass such an Act is limited to the first class of cases. All existing railways must allow their lines to be connected with those of new railways at the expense of the latter. No company may be granted a prohibitive right against the laying of parallel or competing lines. With regard to uniformity of working, Article 42 of the constitution of the Empire states that "the federal "governments (*Bundesregierungen*) pledge themselves "to administer the German railways as a uniform "system in the interests of general traffic." The Imperial Government is not given power to put this provision into practice; that is reserved for the federated governments which, according to Articles 43 and 46, "must, as soon as possible, draw up uniform working "rules, and, in particular, introduce similar police "regulations" (*Bahnpolizeireglement*). How this mutual agreement is to be brought about and enforced is not clear from the constitution. Certainly it is not a matter of Imperial jurisdiction, nor does it belong to the Federal Council. Nevertheless, by Article 43, "the "Imperial Government must see that the railway "administrators keep the roads, at all times, in the "requisite state of safety, and provide them with "rolling stock equal to the demands of the traffic." For the carrying out of this provision the Imperial Government may appoint commissioners and inspectors responsible to the Imperial Railway Department, established in 1873, which, in its turn, is answerable to the Chancellor of the Empire. Article 45 gives the Empire the control over the tariff system, but does not give it the right to impose any special tariff. The clause, therefore, is only expressive of a wish, which cannot be carried out except with the co-operation of the State Governments and the railway directors. The desire of the Imperial Government is further expressed in the following clause:—"The Empire will, therefore, "strive to bring about the greatest possible equality "and reduction in the rates, and especially to procure "a proportionately moderate rate for the transport of "coal, coke, wood, ore, stone, salt, pig iron, manure, "and similar commodities needed in manufactures and "agriculture; indeed, as soon as possible, the one "pfennig rate should be introduced." Except in Bavaria, railways are obliged, in times of special need, to convey food commodities at reduced rates, and throughout the Empire, including Bavaria, troops and military supplies must be conveyed at special rates, even in time of peace. As a matter of fact, in spite of the efforts of Prince Bismarck to introduce a uniform tariff, special rates have been found necessary to redress the balance caused by relieving the short distance traffic at the expense of the long distance traffic. The policy of charging the same mileage rate for any distance made it impossible for German goods to bear the cost of transit from the interior to the frontier. Consequently an elaborate system of special export rates was

(1) F.O. Report, Misc. Series, No. 283, 1893, pp. 4–7.
(2) Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten, 1891, pp. 49, 50, 84, 158, 159,

(1) "Die Lohnverhältnisse im Berlin im September 1891," Imperial Office of Statistics, 1892. "Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Bericht n der Fabrik-Aufsichts-Beamten," 1891, p. 113 and table in Appendix. F.O. Report, Misc. Series, No. 283, 1893, p. 30.

introduced, and in 1890 quite 50 per cent. of the tonnage, returning 39 per cent. of the revenue, was carried at special rates.

It was not until some years after the institution of the Railway Department and the recognition of imperial control that any attempt was made on an extensive scale by the State Governments to acquire possession of their railways. In the Middle German States the principle of State ownership had received an earlier recognition. The Baden and Würtemberg Governments became owners of their railways almost from the moment of their construction. The Bavarian railways on the right bank of the Rhine have belonged to the State since 1875, but private ownership prevails to a certain degree in the rest of Bavaria. The Saxon Government began to purchase their railways in 1876, and are now owners of a complete railway system. In Oldenburg all the railways belong to the State, whilst in Hesse Darmstadt State ownership and private ownerside exist side by side. Mecklenburg has a curious record. It began with private ownership, but from 1860 to 1870 the Grand Duke (*Landesherr*) bought up the private lines only to transfer them in 1873 to a private company. In 1889 the Government purchased six of the leading lines, and the principle of State ownership has since been predominant. In the Kingdom of Prussia, State ownership of railways has been of gradual growth. Under the influence of von der Heydt's Ministry in 1848 a number of railways were constructed by the State, and the control of the Government over private lines was greatly strengthened. Between 1860 and 1870 the State railways of Hanover, Nassau and Hesse passed into the possession of Prussia, but it was not until 1879, when von Maybach was Minister of Commerce, that the Prussian Government set to work to acquire the private lines. Six of the largest companies were bought out in 1879 and 1880, the Government acquired seven more lines in 1882, ten in 1884, and fifteen between 1885 and 1890. The proportion of State to private railways in the German Empire generally and the gradual increase of the first at the expense of the second is shown in the preceding table :—(1)

TABLE F 1.

At the Close of the Working Year.	Total.	State Railways.	Private Railways.	Proportion per 1,000 kilo. Surface.	Average Increase per Year of Mileage.
	Kilo.	Kilo.	Kilo.	Kilo.	
1871 - - -	21,471	9,902	11,569	39·7	—
1872 - - -	22,426	10,293	12,133	41·5	4·4
1873 - - -	23,890	10,445	13,445	44·2	6·5
1874 - - -	25,487	10,812	14,675	47·1	6·7
1875 - - -	27,970	12,332	15,638	51·7	9·7
1876 - - -	29,305	13,853	15,452	54·2	4·8
1877-78 - -	30,718	14,770	15,948	56·8	4·8
1878-79 - -	31,471	15,480	15,991	58·2	5·5
1879-80 - -	33,250	20,433	12,817	61·5	5·7
1880-81 - -	33,645	22,021	11,624	62·2	—
1881-82 - -	34,182	22,548	11,634	63·2	1·6
1882-83 - -	34,846	25,112	9,734	64·5	1·9
1883-84 - -	35,743	29,152	6,591	66·1	2·6
1884-85 - -	36,457	31,148	5,309	67·4	2·0
1885-86 - -	37,189	31,901	5,288	68·8	2·0
1886-87 - -	37,967	32,600	5,367	70·2	2·1
1887-88 - -	39,082	33,934	5,148	72·3	2·9
1888-89 - -	40,008	34,738	5,270	74·0	2·4
1889-90 - -	40,981	36,584	4,397	75·7	2·4

(ii.) Railway staff.

The railway staff on the State railways is composed of Government officials of the first, second, and third classes, together with a number of workmen paid by the day. These are employed in the less skilled kinds of work, such as repairing the line, and loading goods trains. On the private railways the same division holds good between officials and labourers, the officials standing in closer relation to the directors than the day labourers. A number of posts on the State railways, which do not require special technical training, must be filled with soldiers of the reserve. The higher posts can only be filled by officials who have passed the qualifying examinations. The total force employed on all railways amounts in round numbers to 110,000 officials and 200,000 labourers. A regular day's work is understood to be the period between two entirely free spells of at least eight hours each, or in the case of railway servants employed on trains, such as guards, drivers, stokers, or brakesmen, of 10 or six hours according as it is spent at home or not. Line-keepers, where there is a day service only, must not as a rule be on duty for more than 14 hours; where the work is exceptionally light this time may be extended to 16 hours. Thirteen hours is the limit where there is a night service with occasionally 14 hours. Time occupied in walking to and from work is included. Pointsmen on lines with frequent trains are on duty eight hours, on other lines 12, or where trains are very infrequent 14, hours. Sixteen hours may be worked in a day in exceptional cases, if a four hours' interval is allowed after the first eight hours. Out door station work in busy stations is limited to eight hours, in other cases to 12, 14, or 16 hours. Telegraph clerks whose work is uninterrupted must not be on duty more than eight hours. Shunting masters work 10, 12 or 14 hours according to the amount of work, and rolling stock inspectors 12 or 14 hours. Drivers, stokers, guards, and brakesmen must not be on duty on an average more than 11 hours a day in each month; single periods of duty may be extended to 16 hours, if intervals of rest are included, and if such work is followed by a long period of rest. The regular time spent on an engine while the train is running must not exceed 10 hours. The hours for workmen in the railway workshops are given in one set of working rules as from 6.50 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. with an interval of 1 hour and 40 minutes at mid-day. As a rule the actual working hours are 10. Wages are paid twice a month and in cash only. Men employed as porters or in inferior posts on the railways are not supplied with working clothes. (For wages *see also* Appendix B.) (2)

(iii.) Accidents.

The total number of accidents occurring on the German railways is given in the following table :—(3)

TABLE F 2.

Working Year.	Number of Accidents.				Number of Persons meeting with Accidents (exclusive of Suicides).					
					Killed.		Wounded.		Total.	
	Trains leaving the lines.	Collisions.	Other Causes.	Total.	Inclusive.	Passengers.	Inclusive.	Passengers.	Inclusive.	Passengers.
1880-81	483	482	2,539	3,504	454	26	2,208	138	2,662	164
1881-82	388	410	2,548	3,346	470	18	2,129	90	2,599	108
1882-83	445	346	2,524	3,315	556	78	2,383	376	2,939	454
1883-84	450	345	2,592	3,387	564	24	2,113	87	2,677	111
1884-85	400	324	2,524	3,248	507	49	2,138	121	2,645	170
1885-86	389	263	2,847	3,499	503	22	2,362	68	2,865	90
1886-87	448	259	2,934	3,641	520	43	2,554	141	3,074	184
1887-88	508	249	1,764	2,521	463	27	1,334	107	1,797	134
1888-89	393	251	1,905	2,549	562	31	1,447	123	2,009	154
1889-90	423	304	2,361	3,088	602	40	2,112	174	2,714	214

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. III., p. 147, Arts., "Eisenbahen," Cohn, Fritzsch, van der Leyen, von Neumann and Krause. Fourth Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, 1890, pp. 341-343. Laband, "Das Staatsrecht des Deutschen Reiches," 1883, pp. 155-161. Acworth. "The Railways and the Traders," 1891, pp. 47, 48.

(2) Lexis, Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. III., p. 159. Art, "Eisenbahnrecht," Fritzsche. Stengel, "Wörterbuch des Deutschen Verwaltungsrechts," Vol. I., p. 323. Art., "Eisenbahnbeamte," Gleim. Rules of Berlin Railway Works, 1892. F.O. Report, Annual Series, No. 1,222, 1893.

(3) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. III., p. 212, Art.,"Eisenbahnstatistik," Krause.

b. Docks. (Hamburg). (i.) Extent.

"The docks and quays of the city of Hamburg are "the property of the Hamburg State" and the management, with the exception of a portion leased to the Hamburg American Steam Navigation Company, is carried on by the municipality. "Some idea of the "extent of the docks and quays, and of the amount of "work done throughout their length and breadth, may "be formed from the fact that 8,176 vessels, with an "aggregate registered tonnage of 5,202,825 tons, "entered and cleared from these docks and quays "during the year 1890, to say nothing of the vast and "nondescript number of river craft. . . . The total "length of the docks and quays affording accommoda-"tion to from 200 to 250 vessels is 12,528 yards." (1)

(ii.) Conditions of employment.

The number of workmen permanently employed is about 1,600, and in addition to these, assistant labourers are engaged as required; the maximum number employed is 300. Even the permanent labourers are out of work on an average from 15 to 20 days in a year.(2)

Wages.

Wages are reckoned both by the day and by the amount of work done, and average 3.60 marks for permanent hands, and from 3 to 3.30 marks for assistant labourers. Overtime is paid at the rate of 45 pfennige an hour, and after midnight 50 pfennige. Crane-drivers receive 4.20 marks a day. The subjoined table gives the wages paid by the Hamburg-American Company:—

	M.	pf.
Sworn scalesmen	4	40
Foremen	4	20
Measuring clerks and men repairing bags	4	0
Permanent labourers	3	80
Assistant labourers	3	50
Crane attendants	4	20

Assistant labourers receive 4*d.* an hour for overtime, and all other classes 5½*d.*, with 6*d.* after midnight. Men employed in discharging steamships by steam winches are paid by the ton, and can make in a year from 79*l.* to 110*l.* Lightermen get 4 marks a day for week-days and 4.80 marks for Sundays. Their annual wages in 1891 averaged 82*l.*(2)

Hours.

Work begins at 6 a.m. and continues until 6 p.m., with half an hour for breakfast and an hour and a half for dinner. On Sundays and festivals no work is done between 9.30 a.m. and 1 p.m. Where overtime and night work are required, an interval of an hour or half an hour is given for supper at 6 p.m., and there is an hour's rest at midnight. Except in urgent cases, work ceases at midnight. A workman who has been engaged on night work is not obliged to work the following day. The amount of Sunday and holiday work is not very great; during 1891 it was only performed on 45 vessels.(2)

Other conditions.

Very minute regulations have been drawn up by the Hamburg Government, for the guidance of the permanent labourers. These relate to the care of goods and tools, conduct towards fellow-workmen, the reference of general complaints to the workmen's committee, the dress of workmen, the hours of rest, holidays, fines, and sick leave.(2)

c. Tramway and omnibus employés (Berlin).

The official statistics for Berlin in September, 1891, give the wages paid by the Berlin General Omnibus Company, the Berlin New Omnibus and Carmen's Company, and the Steam Tramway and Omnibus Company. Omnibus drivers in one company received on an average 23.85 marks a week, in two others 82 and 90 marks a month. Conductors (*Conducteure*) received 19.65 marks a week from one company and stablemen 16.35 marks. In two other cases, conductors or guards (*Schaffner*), received 75 and 82.50 marks a month, and stablemen 67.50. Carmen receive 78 marks a month as drivers, 77.50 for accompanying the drivers to deliver parcels (*Schaffner*) and 65 as stablemen. Collectors of parcels receive 54 marks a month, and men delivering them on foot 75 marks. The monthly wages of drivers of steam tramways (*Maschinisten*) were 137.50 marks. Drivers of hackney carriages earn 18 marks a week, and 9 marks whilst they are employed as apprentices. They work from 5 a.m. until 8.30 p.m. with about 1½ hour's rest. The hours of omnibus and tramway men vary greatly; in some cases they are given as twelve, in others as from eight to twelve, and again as from 6 a.m. to 12 p.m., with about two hours' interval. (1)

(1) Report of H.M. Consul at Hamburg to the Foreign Office for the use of the Royal Commission on Labour. *See also* Foreign Office Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 272, 1893.
(2) Idem.

2. *Agriculture.*

(*a.*) The Agrarian Question.

The agrarian question, as at present understood in Germany, is to a great extent the outcome of the last twenty years, and is by no means co-incident with the period of lowest wages and least amount of material prosperity for the agricultural labourer. Indeed, as Dr. Kaerger has expressed it, the agrarian question exists rather from the standpoint of the employer than from that of the employed, and springs from the scarcity of agricultural labour more than from any necessity for improvement in the condition of the labourer. Since the beginning of the present century agriculture in Germany has passed through three main stages. Up to 1830 the destruction caused by the Napoleonic wars was still severely felt; 80 per cent. of the great estates in Prussia came into the market, and the price of land fell to half of its taxable value. The ruin of so many of the landed aristocracy was the opportunity of the merchant classes, who became purchasers of land on a very extensive scale. The rising price of corn and the capital at the disposal of the new landowners brought about an era of prosperity which continued until 1870. The great landowners, both on account of their superior knowledge and the comparative ease with which they could obtain the necessary credit, took the lead in introducing improved methods of cultivation. Many of the smaller holdings (*Bauerhöfe*) were bought up, and the small farmers as well as the better class of agricultural labourers emigrated in consequence to America. Shortly after 1870 came the re-action. Prices fell, agricultural labour became scarce, the influence of the higher wages obtainable in the building and factory industries began to make itself felt, and the present agrarian difficulty first made its appearance. For a time the Agrarian, or Conservative Socialist party, to which the great landowners belonged, was wholly in favour of re-actionary measures, such as the limitation of the right of free migration, higher protective duties upon foreign produce, and more stringent legislation against breach of contract on the part of domestic servants and farm labourers. Both the older and newer schools of Academic Socialists, however, who have made a study of the land question, lay greater stress upon its social aspects and point out that if the agricultural labourer is to be attached to the soil it must be by providing him with some means of satisfying his demand for a fuller recognition of his independence, and a more favourable prospect of realising his social aspirations. They support their view by showing that, except in a few isolated cases, the general consensus of opinion in the country as a whole indicates a very great change for the better in the economic condition of the labourer during the last ten or twenty years. He is better fed and better clothed, better educated and better able to procure the means of recreation; nevertheless the migration statistics (*see* p. 95) indicate a continuous movement of the population from the agricultural east to the industrial west. Except in a few southern districts, such as Bavaria, where peculiar conditions prevail, the agrarian question proper, interpreted in Germany to mean the difficulty of procuring a sufficient supply of labour, scarcely exists in the west. With regard to the east, on the contrary, Dr. Weber points out (*see* p. 100) that unless some means can be adopted for checking the outflow of the German population, there is every reason to fear that their places will be supplied by an inroad of Slavs, and that thus an element of disintegration already existing will be increased. The causes of this movement will be further treated under the heading "Migration of Labour" (*see* pp. 92-101), but the inquiry instituted in 1892 by the Economic Club (*Verein für Sozialpolitik*) has brought out clearly the predominant influence of the social over the economic factors in agrarian discontent. The gulf which separates the employer from the employed in the east, and the lack of opportunity for acquiring land are, in the opinion of the members of the Economic Club reporting on the subject, mainly responsible for its depopulation. Up to the present time it has appeared almost impossible to supply the remedy, though the great landowners are sufficiently ready to divide much of their land into small holdings, if this or any other measure would secure them a permanent supply of suitable labour. (2)

(1) "Die Lohnverhältnisse in Berlin im September, 1891," pp. 61, 62. Imperial Office of Statistics, 1892.
(2) Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik, vols. LII., LIII., LIV., LV., LVI., LVIII., "Die Neue Zeit," No. 33, 1892-3. Article by Dr. Rudolf Meyer.

(b.) Status of the agricultural labourer. (i.) In Western Germany.

In Westphalia and Oldenburg the agricultural labourer rents a small plot of ground from his employer on condition of giving him a certain number of days' work in return for a lower rate of wages than would otherwise be paid in the district. The labourer (*Heuerling*) is a small cultivator on his own account, not as a rule rich enough to possess a team of horses, but allowed the use of his employer's team when necessary, and receiving other assistance in kind. The relations between the two parties are reported to be more favourable than in any other part of Germany; the employer is secure of a sufficient amount of labour, and the labourer in most cases contrives to amass considerable savings. Many families remain for centuries upon the same farms, and although their holdings are only on short leases renewable at will they come to regard them as their own property. Many of them add to their income by home industries, such as weaving, and occasionally when there is little for them to do at home they cross the border into Holland for a few months and work for wages. It has been proposed to transfer the Heuerling system to Eastern Germany, but Dr. Knapp points out that the predominance of small or medium-sized farms rather than the conditions of labour must be held to account for the satisfactory relations between the labourer and his employer. It is the Bauer, or small farmer scarcely removed from the peasant, for whom the Heuerling works in Westphalia; he stands "shoulder to shoulder "with his employer, and sits at the same table with "him. The two differ so little in speech and manners "that a townsman would scarcely perceive any social "distinction." The labourer has, therefore, no sense of compulsory service; he regards himself as merely a voluntary helper, whose interests are really identical with those of the farmer. Indeed the connexion between the two classes is often one of blood relationship, for the farms are handed on from father to son undivided, and the younger members of a family, unless they forsake the pursuit of agriculture altogether, must descend into the ranks of the labourers. Family quarrels not unfrequently result, but on the whole the system tends to bind the two classes closer together, and to obliterate any sort of social distinction other than that of property.

(ii.) In Southern Germany.

In Southern Germany the same system of small holdings prevails, but here the labourer is himself a small freeholder, who ekes out the scanty resources of his own property by performing service for the farmers (Bauer) with more land than they can cultivate themselves. This becomes the more necessary, because on the death of the small freeholder any land which he has accumulated does not pass intact to his appointed heir as in Westphalia. It is, as a rule, subdivided amongst his children, who must recommence the laborious process of saving if they are ever to be in a position of independence. Where they are unwilling to do this, they sell their inheritance, and their places are taken by immigrants from the eastern provinces, Sweden, and Switzerland, who in their turn betake themselves to town and factory life and give place to others. The result is an absence of any permanent class of native agricultural labourers. In the villages of Hesse, Würtemberg, and the Rhine provinces they do not regard regard themselves as entering upon a real contract of service, though they work as day labourers for the larger proprietors. Longer contracts would be considered equivalent to servitude, but they are sometimes willing to give assistance "on neighbourly principles" in return for certain wages. Where pride forbids this, and their own land is inadequate for their support, their only resource is emigration, and the emigration statistics (*see* pp. 92-97) indicate the extent to which this remedy is adopted. Still here, as in Western Germany, it is the economic rather than the social aspect of the agrarian question which is the most prominent, and it is the poverty born of too great subdivision of land and a too intensive system of cultivation which must be held mainly responsible for the migration of the southern agriculturist.

(iii.) In Mid Germany.

Mid Germany, *i.e.*, the district between the Weser and Elbe. is the home of the different classes of peasant farmers (*Bauer*), and of what are known as free labourers (*freie Landarbeiter*). These are drawn from different classes of the village population, possessing larger or smaller plots of land held on different systems of tenure handed down from feudal times, and known as Kötter, Brinksitzer, Häusler, or Anbauer. To the larger farmer (*Bauer*), or to the large landed proprietor (*Gutsbesitzer*), they are all merely day-labourers in the strictest sense of the term, taking service first with one employer and then with another, but entering into engagements by the day only. Throughout this district, however, agriculture is only carried on in conjunction with other pursuits; the "free labourers" have a definite status in the village or commune, and have reason to be definitely attached to the land. The agrarian question, therefore, holds a much more subordinate place than it occupies east of the Elbe, and such difficulties as exist are chiefly occasioned by the wandering immigrants known as "Sachsengänger," who come from the eastern provinces to take service during the harvest in the more western districts.

(iv.) In Eastern Germany.

In the wide expanse of territory east of the Elbe the contract between the agricultural labourer and his employer takes a great variety of forms; but in what Professor Knapp calls the most typical districts, where great estates (*Rittergüter*) are numerous and settlements of peasant farmers (*Bauerndörfer*) few, the most usual form has hitherto been that known as soccage-tenancy (*Instenwesen*). Here "the landowner enters "into a contract for a lengthened period which assures "him of the services, not of an individual merely, but "of a family. The family is settled in a cottage upon "the landlord's estate and must be prepared to provide "a man and an assistant — a so-called soccager "(*Scharwerker*)—to perform the agricultural labour "required upon the estate. A very small daily wage "is paid in return; the soccage tenant generally "receives a portion of garden ground for his own use "in addition to his house, and a few acres of land are "cultivated for him within the estate; whatever these "produce, whether corn, other kinds of produce, or "potatoes, belongs to the soccage tenant (*Inste*). "Finally, the soccage tenant has a right to thresh his "landlord's corn during the winter in return for a "certain proportion of the yield." This remuneration in kind is often more than he can use, but he is at liberty to sell it, and the proceeds, together with a very small daily wage, represent the extent of his pecuniary resources. As a rule he owns a cow or a few sheep, and in all cases he keeps one or two pigs. As far as health and good nourishment are concerned the condition of such a labourer leaves little to be desired, and lately much has been done to remedy the miserable character of the cottages. At first sight the Inste appears to have much in common with the contract labourer in the western provinces; both enter into a lasting engagement and both are remunerated primarily in kind and only secondarily in money. But whereas the Westphalian labourer has a holding of his own to cultivate at will, the labourer east of the Elbe merely receives the product of a few acres, which are not distinguished from the rest of the estate, and with the cultivation of which he has nothing to do. Except for the fact that he is allowed a little garden ground there is nothing to distinguish him from a day-labourer, remunerated in kind, a so-called Deputatiste. Besides the tendency in Eastern Germany is to depart further and further from any form of labour contract which can recall that of Westphalia and the adjacent provinces. Since the introduction of threshing machines the labourer's share of the yield has been gradually diminished; it is now not uncommon to abandon the custom of giving him the proceeds of any part of the land, and instead of allowing him stabling for a cow of his own, to add a certain portion of milk to his daily wages. His interest in the land and in the general prosperity of his landlord is, therefore, decreasing, and he is fast degenerating into an ordinary day-labourer, who has to contend in many districts with the cheaper labour and lower standard of living of the Russian and Austrian Poles. The result is thus expressed by Dr. Weber:—"Agriculture on the grand "scale carried on on patriarchal principles preserved "the standard of living of the labourers and their "military efficiency, but the existing organisation of "agriculture on capitalist principles is only maintained "at the expense of the standard of living, the nationality and the defensive capacity of Eastern Germany." Where there are still settlements of peasant farmers, as in the Crown lands (*Domänien*) of Mecklenburg Schwerin and Mecklenburg Strelitz, it has been found practicable to establish the same system of small holdings (*Häuslereien*) as has existed for centuries in Prussian Saxony and other districts of Mid-Germany, but in the provinces further east such a remedy would be difficult to apply owing to the absence of the peasant farmers, or of any intermediate class between the great landlords and the labourers, and more particularly owing to the absence of villages. Any attempt in this direction must be by way of colonisation, a process attended with

difficulty, but reported to be in a fair way to success in certain cases (*see* below, p. 100). As Dr. Knapp points out, the status of the agricultural labourer is too indissolubly connected with the different forms of land tenure to admit of the substitution of the form of contract prevailing in one district for the form prevailing in another, unless at the same time a complete change is effected in the conditions of tenure. "The "contract labourer (*Heuermann*) belongs to the single "farm; the small freeholder (*Häusler*), in his character "of independent labourer, is dependent upon the village "(*Bauerndorf*), and the soccage tenant (*Inste*) belongs "to the great estate (*Rittergut*), which extends through "the length and breadth of the district, and excludes "the possibility of neighbouring peasant farms." Without, therefore, some system of breaking up the large estates it will scarcely be possible to transfer the West German labour contracts to the district east of the Elbe.(1)

(c.) Wages of agricultural labour.

The members of the Economic Club (*Verein für Sozialpolitik*, who conducted the inquiry into the condition of the agricultural labourer in 1892, have included tables of wages in their reports, which have been summarised, as far as possible, in the following table:—

TABLE G.—Daily Wages of Agricultural Labourers in Germany.(2)

District.	Men.								Women.								Authority. Inquiry made for the Economic Club (*Verein für Sozialpolitik*) by
	Permanently employed.				Temporarily employed.				Permanently employed.				Temporarily employed.				
	Summer.		Winter.		Summer.		Winter.		Summer.		Winter.		Summer.		Winter.		
	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	Without Board.	With Board.	
	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	M.	
1. Oldenburg	2·75	1·87	1·62	1·0	3·60	1·87	2·50	1·05	1·75	1·12	1·50	0·75	1·25	0·87	1·27	0·75	
2. East Friesland	2·12	1·17	1·40	0·87	2·12	3·30	2·0	0·75	1·10	0·75	0·80	0·50	1·80	1·25	0·87	0·50	
3. Lippe Detmold	1·75	1·12	1·25	0·75	2·12	1·17	1·50	0·75	1·19	0·65	0·80	0·35	1·12	0·70	1·15	0·65	
4. Westphalia	2·25	1·35	1·75	1·12	3·70	2·30	2·37	1·45	1·42	0·85	1·37	0·75	1·55	0·95	1·25	0·65	Dr. Kaerger.
5. Waldeck	1·85	1·60	1·60	1·12	2·25	1·25	1·20	0·90	1·10	0·95	0·90	0·75	0·90	0·62	0·90	0·55	
6. Hanover (North)	2·50	1·62	1·65	1·05	2·75	1·75	1·75	1·25	1·30	0·87	1·05	0·75	1·52	1·2	1·25	0·75	
7. Baden	2·60	1·35	2·0	0·95	2·70	1·85	2·0	1·0	1·37	0·85	1·15	0·67	1·40	1·0	1·15	0·60	
8. Würtemberg	2·0	1·30	1·60	1·10	2·55	1·65	1·65	0·95	1·50	1·0	1·30	0·70	1·02	0·90	1·45	0·70	Dr. H. Losch.
9. Alsace Lorraine	1·60	1·35	1·50	0·95	2·60	1·55	1·75	1·15	1·35	0·85	1·15	0·85	1·35	1·15	1·10	0·65	
10. The Rhine Provinces.	2·20	1·35	1·75	0·90	3·0	2·10	1·90	1·37	1·30	0·65	1·15	0·55	1·75	1·25	1·25	0·82	Dr. Otto Anhagen.
11. Hohenzollern	2·20	1·42	1·50	0·95	2·70	1·65	2·0	1·25	1·55	0·97	1·10	0·87	1·85	1·25	1·10	0·95	
12. Hesse Nassau	2·10	1·22	1·50	1·0	2·60	1·85	1·87	1·10	1·05	0·70	0·90	0·65	1·40	1·0	1·0	0·65	
13. Thüringian States	2·0	1·50	1·27	0·87	2·60	2·50	1·55	1·0	1·10	0·75	0·90	0·50	1·40	0·87	0·95	0·50	
14. Bavaria	1·75	1·0	1·30	0·90	2·60	1·15	1·65	0·70	1·15	0·80	0·90	0·55	1·20	0·85	0·75	0·65	Dr. Kuno Frankenstein.
15. Hesse-Darmstadt	2·05	1·15	1·40	0·85	2·15	1·65	1·55	0·95	1·27	0·85	0·90	0·65	1·15	1·0	1·05	0·65	
16. Kingdom of Saxony	2·25	1·40	1·40	1·05	2·25	2·0	1·35	1·35	1·37	1·0	1·05	0·70	1·40	1·0	0·95	0·70	
17. Schelswig-Holstein (West & North).	2·45	1·95	2·10	1·30	3·60	2·60	1·95	1·35	1·50	1·05	1·05	0·70	1·40	1·25	1·0	0·60	
18. Prussian Saxony	2·37	1·45	1·40	0·95	2·10	1·80	2·10	1·25	1·10	0·80	0·92	0·57	0·95	0·82	0·85	0·60	
19. Anhalt	1·50	1·50	1·62	1·25	2·25	1·75	1·62	—	0·92	0·67	0·80	0·50	2·0	1·02	0·95	0·60	Herr Friedrich Grossmann.
20. Brunswick	1·85	1·0	1·65	0·95	2·25	1·50	1·72	0·82	1·10	0·80	1·0	0·70	1·30	0·75	0·90	0·65	
21. Hanover (South)	1·85	1·37	1·50	0·97	2·50	1·75	1·75	1·40	1·05	0·70	0·97	0·65	1·15	0·95	1·10	0·70	
22. East Prussia	2·0	1·15	1·25	0·60	1·75	1·50	1·50	0·82	1·10	0·75	0·70	0·40	1·50	0·85	0·70	0·40	
23. West Prussia	2·25	1·50	1·25	0·62	2·75	1·75	1·55	0·87	1·30	0·65	0·75	0·50	1·05	0·87	0·75	0·60	
24. Pomerania	2·25	1·75	1·37	0·87	2·50	1·75	1·37	1·0	1·35	0·75	0·75	0·50	1·67	0·87	1·0	0·62	
25. Posen	1·90	1·25	1·0	0·65	2·25	1·62	1·25	0·75	0·95	0·77	0·90	0·42	1·25	1·05	0·65	0·40	
26. Silesia	1·50	1·0	1·20	0·60	2·15	1·75	1·35	1·15	0·70	0·50	0·55	0·45	1·0	0·70	0·72	0·45	Dr. Max Weber.
27. Brandenburg	1·75	1·25	1·37	1·0	2·50	1·62	1·37	1·0	1·50	0·82	0·95	0·50	1·30	0·70	1·12	0·60	
28. Mecklenburg-Strelitz.	2·25	2·0	1·39	1·25	2·62	2·0	1·40	1·25	—	—	—	—	—	1·0	—	0·75	
29. Mecklenburg-Schwerin.	2·12	2·0	1·62	1·25	3·0	2·0	1·50	1·0	1·50	0·56	0·87	0·40	1·37	1·0	1·12	0·37	
30. Schleswig-Holstein (East).	2·15	1·50	1·40	0·90	1·90	1·40	1·30	1·10	—	—	—	—	1·10	—	—	—	

Note.—The figures for every district have been obtained by taking the arithmetic mean of the detailed wages given by communes (*Gemeinden*) and groups of communes (*Kreise*) which were collected for the Economic Club (*Verein für Sozialpolitik*), in 1892, and which cover nearly 200 pages.

It will be noticed that on the whole temporary labourers are remunerated at a higher rate than those permanently employed. This is due in a great measure to the fact that the high wages paid in harvest time are included in the average figures for temporary labour. The result for East Friesland is curious, but the very high wages in addition to board, paid to the migratory labourers during the summer are accounted for by the great scarcity of harvest labour in certain districts. Oldenburg and the greater part of Schleswig-Holstein are remarkable for the high rate of wages, whilst Silesia is equally noticeable in the opposite respect, and, indeed, is said by Dr. Weber to rank lowest in material prosperity and in standard of living. This fact has already been noted in connexion with other industries (*see* pp. 47, 49). The wages paid to women are always far below those paid to men; in considerably more than half the cases the average is below 1 mark a day, and it never reaches 2 marks, except in Anhalt. Men's wages, on the other hand, only fall below an average of 1 mark in 28 out of 240 cases, or rather

(1) Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik, vol. LVIII., pp. 6-23, 62-86.

(2) *See* Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik:—
Vol. LIII., pp. 222-239, 384-395, 430-433.
" LIV., pp. 366-399, 628-649, 748-765.
" LV., pp. 806-891.

more than one-tenth of the whole, whilst they exceed 2 marks in 66 cases, or rather more than one-fourth. The rates are higher in districts such as Westphalia, Hanover, Baden, Würtemberg, the kingdom of Saxony and the Rhine Provinces, where agriculture comes in contact with industry, and lower in the purely agricultural provinces of Mid and Eastern Germany.

(*d.*) General condition of the labourer.

Great stress is laid by many of the writers of the reports to the Economic Club upon the moral deterioration, which has, in their opinion, been the first result of the contact between the agricultural labourers and the workers in factories. There is some difference of opinion on the subject, but the general impression of the writers appears to be that whereas externally the subsequent change in dress, manners, and way of living is all for the better, the lowered standard of morality amongst the women and the increase of drinking habits amongst the men are distinctly changes for the worse. Attention is especially called to these features in the reports for Hesse-Nassau, Schleswig-Holstein, Brandenburg, and Bavaria, whilst in Silesia the very low standard of morality is to a large extent attributed by Dr. Weber to the condition of the dwellings and the very low level of intelligence. The extent of the emigration from agricultural Bavaria is especially noticed, and it is stated that in some districts land is actually going out of cultivation owing to the scarcity of labour. Throughout Western Germany the shorter hours and comparatively greater freedom attaching to mining and factory labour draw a number of the younger men and girls away from work in the fields, and the tendency throughout the empire appears to be in the direction of breaking down the barriers between the different kinds of labour and the gradual disappearance of any special agricultural class. This is coincident with an increase in the amount of migratory labour employed, and the conditions under which this labour is performed are not always conducive to the maintenance of a high moral standard. It is, however, contended by Dr. Kaerger that of late there has been considerable improvement in the arrangements for housing these "Sachsengänger," or wandering labourers, and that the result can be seen in their increased self-respect. He also regards the contact with a higher standard of living as a factor in the education of labourers from Silesia, and others equally ignorant, and considers that the interchange of experience between east and west is likely to improve eastern methods of cultivation. On the other hand, he does not deny that there are grave evils attendant upon the congregating together of a large and mixed mass of labourers of both sexes, and Dr. Weber points out further that though at present these wandering labourers are regarded with contempt by the permanent hands, it is probable that at any rate in the eastern districts this feeling will give way, and that the assimilation of the native and foreign labourers will represent a real danger to the standard of culture.(1)

3. *Forestry.*

(*a.*) Persons employed.

In forestry, as in agriculture, considerable difficulty is experienced in securing a sufficient supply of suitable labour. The men employed are largely drawn from other industries and take work in the forests during the winter, or when the chances of employment in other trades are comparatively few. The migration from the country to the towns has had its effect upon forest labour, and it is far more difficult than formerly to secure the regular services of men living in the neighbourhood and betaking themselves, as a matter of course, to the forests for a livelihood, when agricultural operations are practically at a standstill. The men employed in forestry are divided into permanent and temporary labourers. The first class includes men who have passed through a certain period of probation, and have subsequently entered into a contract in writing. They subscribe for the most part to sick funds, and are thus in more intimate association both with their employers and with each other than the temporary labourers. Permanent labour of this kind, however, can only be employed in forests where work is carried on without intermission except in harvest time. (2)

(*b.*) Wages.

The wages of forest labourers in 1885–86 and 1888 are given in the following table, together with a comparison between these figures and the average district rate for general labour.

TABLE H.—Comparative Table of Wages paid to Forest Labourers in Germany.(1)

District.	Wages paid for ordinary Handwork to Day Labourers (Men) during the Winter Wood-cutting Season of 1888.		Schedule drawn up in 1885-86 by the Minister of Agriculture, Crown Lands, and Forests.	
			Local Average Daily Wage for Men.	Average Daily Wage for Men engaged in Forestry.
	From M.	To M.	M.	M.
1. Königsberg	—	1·0	1·15	1·0
2. Gumbianen	0·75	1·0	1·05	0·90
3. Danzig	—	1·0	1·25	1·0
4. Marienwerder	—	1·0	1·10	1·05
5. Potsdam	—	1·50	1·50	1·38
6. Frankfurt am Oder	—	1·10	1·15	1·05
7. Stettin	1·20	1·30	1·25	1·25
8. Köslin	—	1·15	1·02	0·90
9. Stralsund	1·0	1·20	1·48	1·50
10. Posen	0·60	0·90	0·85	0·80
11. Bromberg	—	1·0	0·90	1·05
12. Breslau	—	1·0	1·10	0·95
13. Liegnitz	—	1·20	1·10	1·15
14. Oppeln	—	0·80	0·90	0·90
15. Magdeburg	1·25	1·50	1·95	1·85
16. Merseburg	—	1·25	1·50	1·40
17. Erfurt	1·20	1·25	1·60	1·90
18. Schleswig	—	1·80	1·60	1·70
19. Hanover	—	1·50	1·65	1·68
20. Hildesheim	1·40	1·70	1·50	1·75
21. Lüneburg	1·40	1·50	1·75	1·50
22. Stade	—	1·50	1·75	1·60
23. Osnabrück	—	1·50	1·55	1·65
24. Munster	—	—	—	—
25. Minden	1·40	1·50	1·35	1·25
26. Arnsberg	—	1·80	1·85	2·0
27. Cassel	1·20	1·50	1·50	1·45
28. Wiesbaden	1·50	2·0	1·70	1·50
29. Coblenz	—	1·40	1·65	1·60
30. Düsseldorf	—	1·80	1·70	1·85
31. Cologne	—	1·60	1·65	1·50
32. Trêves	—	1·80	1·85	1·88
33. Aix-la-Chapelle	—	1·60	2·0	2·0

The rate in East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Posen, and Brandenburg is below that for other districts, and the amount of timber obtained from the forests in these provinces is below the average. Wages are reckoned by the piece, and as the workmen work in gangs their wages are as a rule paid over in a lump sum to the gang. The amount varies according to the quality of the timber, its comparative hardness, age and length, the kind of labour required, the nature of the ground upon which the work has to be carried on, and the incidental difficulties thus occasioned, the amount of daylight, the distance of the workmen's dwellings from the place where they work, and finally the efficiency of their labour. There is some complaint of want of uniformity in fixing the rates, but as a rule it is reckoned that wood cutters ought to receive from 20 to 30 per cent. more than the average daily wage of the district, and that the wages of other workmen must bear a constant proportion to those of the wood cutters, and must be adjusted to the length of the working day. (2)

(*c.*) Other conditions.

The work makes great demands upon the workmen's strength and endurance; it involves much exposure to the weather and is carried on for the most part during the coldest season of the year. Though the distance which the men have to traverse is often exceedingly long, and the conditions under which they live very far from healthy, it has been found that they prefer returning to their homes in the forest villages to spending the night in the shelters which have in many cases been provided in the forests. The houses in the mountain villages are specially objectionable from a sanitary point of view; home industries are largely practised, and it is not unusual to find that one moderate-sized room without any ventilation serves a whole family for both workshop, living room, and sleeping place. The men are not accustomed to much beyond a vegetable diet, at any rate on week-days, because in spite of the fact that provisions in Eastern

(1) Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik. Vols. LIII., LIV., and LVIII. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. V., p. 473. Art. "Sachsengängerei," Kaerger.
(2) Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft, Vol. XV., No. 3. Art. by M. Wagner.

(1) "Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft," Vol. XV., No. 3, p. 180.
(2) Idem.

Germany are comparatively cheap, the wages are proportionately low. (1)

C.—Textile, Clothing, Building, Chemical, and Miscellaneous Trades.

1. *Textile Trades.*

(a.) General character of the industry.

According to Dr. von Schulze-Gävernitz the German cotton industry is now at the stage which the English cotton industry had attained in the thirties. It is still spread over a wide area and thus loses many of the advantages which extreme concentration has obtained for the Lancashire textile trade. South Germany, and in particular Swabia, Baden, and Alsace, is the seat of the plain cotton goods manufacture, North Germany, and especially the Rhine Provinces and Prussian Saxony, that of the manufacture of printed goods. The inquiry into the condition of the German cotton industry, made in 1878, showed that since 1859 the number of spindles to each establishment had risen from 15,000 to 21,000, whilst the average number of looms was 287. Such figures, however, only represent the firms sending in returns to the Commissioners, and as these are the largest and most important, their condition cannot be taken as representative of the average throughout the country. The same reservation must be made with the statistics for Alsace-Lorraine in 1890, which give an average of 25,800 spindles and 380 power-looms for each spinning and weaving mill. In Saxony it is certainly not uncommon to find establishments with only a few hundred spindles, and the statistics of occupations of 1882 showed that this very industry, which is more highly organised than almost any other in Germany, can also show the widest development in the direction of small industries. In 1885 the English cotton mills had an average staff of 191 workpeople, whilst in Germany the average was only ten. In 1882 42 per cent. of all textile workers were engaged in establishments employing less than five persons, and only 38 per cent. in really large factories, *i.e.*, factories employing more than 50 hands. The relative proportion of factory and home work in the three main branches of the textile trades was as follows:—

	Factory Workers.	Home Workers.
Spinning - - -	103,750	28,391
Weaving - - - -	171,095	178,060
Embroidery and lace - -	23,077	68,248
Total - -	297,922	274,699

There were, therefore, considerably more persons weaving at home than in factories, whilst home work in embroidery and lace-making shows a vast preponderance. Lack of organisation in the system of procuring raw material obliges the German millowner to buy his cotton months in advance instead of weekly as in England; he is thus far more at the mercy of the fluctuations of the market, without reckoning the loss of interest. Further, English mills confine themselves as a rule to one, or at the most two, specialities, but the German manufacturer has a hundred patterns, which involve frequent re-adjustments of the machinery and the changes in the work of the operatives. Hence an increase in the costs of production and a decrease in the amount of the product. Similarly in Germany, spinning and weaving are often carried on in one and the same establishment. The absence of concentration and organisation in the work has hindered the growth of a factory population, such as that of Lancashire, devoted almost exclusively to the particular industry and developing a hereditary aptitude for it of untold value to the manufacturer. The German millowners complain of the lack of a permanent supply of skilled labour, and state that the workpeople often leave the mills and take to agriculture, domestic service, or artisan's work. The result is a loss of the skill already acquired and a complete absence of "the factory tradition." Alsace shows greater concentration than the rest of Germany, and it is here alone that any attempt has been made to establish works for the sole production of the machinery required in the textile trades. These works are not, however, sufficient to supply the rest of Germany, which remains for the most part dependent upon England. The only corresponding advantage, besides the doubtful benefit of lower wages, which Germany derives from the diffusion of its textile industry is the large supply of water power; but even this is being greatly neutralised by the almost universal substitution of steam as a motive power. In the selling department, again, the German manufacturer loses by being his own agent and commercial traveller, and dealing often with small retail tradesmen, whose security is doubtful and who buy almost universally on credit. The general result of the difference of organisation is that both in the costs of establishment and in the costs of production Germany is far behind England. Where in England the average cost of establishing a business is 21*s.* per spindle, in Germany it is from 45 to 55 marks, and where the English cost per loom is 350 marks or less, the German is 666 marks for light printed cottons (*Drucknessel*) and 1,500 marks for glazed, twilled or patterned cottons. The cheaper coal helps the German manufacturer as far as the relative amount of the working expenses is concerned; but in the purchase of the raw material the advantage is entirely on the side of England. The same applies to the rate at which capital can be obtained in the two countries; the German millowner must pay 5 per cent. where the English owner pays from 2½ per cent. to 3 per cent. As regards coarse yarns, however, Germany has proved able to compete successfully with England, and even before 1878 had done much to drive the English coarse yarns out of the German markets. In fine yarns, on the other hand, England in 1891 still produced 75·5 per cent. of those used in Germany, whilst 7·5 per cent. came from Switzerland, and only 17 per cent. were of native manufacture. (1)

(b.) Persons employed.

The difficulty of procuring an adequate supply of skilled labour has already been pointed out, and the factory inspectors report a distinct increase in the employment of women and children in various districts. The more important textile districts show, on the contrary, a decrease in the matter of child labour. In the neighbourhood of Düsseldorf, the children and young people employed in 1891 diminished by 89 and 1,038 respectively as compared with 1890. In Lower Alsace child labour diminished by 50 per cent., and in Upper Alsace by 41 per cent. The number of young persons employed throughout Saxony in 1890 was 20,000, and in 1891 only 18,573. The chief increase appears to have taken place in the district of Minden-Münster. The employment of women has increased in the Cassel, Zwickau, Leipzig, Bautzen, and Meissen districts, and decreased in the Breslau-Liegnitz, Palatinate, and Chemnitz districts. Compared with the English textile workers, the German operatives are certainly less efficient, even when all allowances have been made for the inferior machinery often used in Germany. A German manufacturer stated before the German Commission of 1878 that where in England the spindles ran 95 per cent. of the possible time, in Würtemberg, though the rate of speed was 10 per cent. less, the time lost through the breaking of threads was 5 per cent. greater. In Alsace, the actual product was said to be only 80 per cent. of the possible product. The following table shows the comparative efficiency of the labour in India and the chief textile countries of Europe:—

Bombay -	- 25	workmen per 1,000 spindles.
Italy -	- 13	,, ,,
Alsace -	- 9·5	,, ,,
Mülhausen	- 7·5	,, ,,
Germany, 1861	- 20	,, ,,
,, 1882	- 8–9	,, ,,
England, 1837	- 7	,, ,,
,, 1887	- 3	,, ,,

(1) Idem.

(1) Schulze-Gävernitz "Der Grossbetrieb, eine Studie auf dem Gebiete der Baumwollindustrie," 1892, pp. 105–112. 195–205.
Dr. von Schulze Gävernitz states, with regard to the inferior efficiency of German workmen, that they have so far availed themselves little of the provisions made in Germany for technical education. Though Germany has made very great progress upon the theoretic side, the manual part of technical education is still comparatively neglected by the classes for whom it is specially intended. This view is confirmed by Dr. Karl von Mangoldt, writing in the Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt for April 26th and May 15th, 1893. He states that Würtemberg, Baden, and Saxony have paid more attention to the question than Prussia, but that Prussia between 1888 and 1892 spent over 900,000 marks upon technical education, exclusive of its higher branches and of the mining schools. The artisans' schools in Berlin were attended by 2,000 persons in the winter of 1890 91, those of Magdeburg by 1,055, and those of Hanover by 1272. The Dresden Evening School is also said to be succeeding, and there appears to be a general tendency amongst the working classes to make greater use than they have hitherto done of the provisions afforded, both by the State and by private schools, for technical instruction. *See* v. Schulze Gävernitz, "Der Gross-betrieb," 1892, p. 185. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, Vol. II., 1892-93, pp. 389, 399.

The number varies greatly in the different districts of Germany, for whereas in 1878 it was only 6 in Baden and Swabia, in Silesia it was 14·75. According to figures collected by Dr. von. Schulze-Gavernitz, the proportion in 1891 and 1892 for various countries was as follows:—

Switzerland	6·2	workmen per 1,000 spindles.
Mülhausen	5·8	,, ,,
Baden and Würtemberg	6·2	,, ,,
Bavaria	6·8	,, ,,
Saxony	7·2	,, ,,
Vosges district	8·9	,, ,,

Even in the south-west, therefore, where the industry has been longest established and the degree of skill is presumably greatest, the efficiency is only about half of what it is in Lancashire. The saving of labour effected in England in comparison with Germany appears from the following figures:—

TABLE I. 1.

Details.	Oldham.	Mülhausen.	Vosges.
Number of spindles in the mill.	70,000	32,000	56,000
Hands employed in mixing	2 men	2·3 men	120 workpeople.
Hands employed in loosening threads.	4 men and women.	7·6 men and women.	
Hands employed in carding	7 men	15·5 men	
Hands employed in drawing.	7 women	12·6 women	59 workpeople
Hands employed in slubbing and roving (Vorspinnen).	43 women and children.	44·3 women and girls.	202 workpeople.
Hands employed in spinning (Feinspinnen).	95 men and boys.	87 men and boys.	—
Hands employed as overseers.	3	4	—
Hands employed as packers	6	12	117
Total	167	185·3	498
Percentage per 1,000 spindles	2·4	5·8	8·9

The number of overseers required in Germany is far greater than in England; the German proportion, even under the most favourable circumstances, is one to 15,000 spindles, whilst in England one man takes charge of from 60,000 to 80,000.

In weaving the difference between the two countries is almost as striking as in spinning. An English weaver working rapidly loses on an average only 16·6 per cent. of the possible time through the breaking of threads and other accidents; if he works at a less rate he loses about 8 per cent. An Alsatian weaver, on the other hand, will lose from 20 to 30 per cent., though he works 30 per cent. slower than the Englishman. Thus, in spite of the 15 per cent. shorter hours in England, the weekly production per weaver is greater. Again, a good English weaver will manage four looms at once, or, in a few cases, six, whereas in Germany one man seldom takes more than two, or in exceptional cases three. In Silesia it has been found most economical to have a weaver to each loom.(1)

(c.) Wages and hours.

According to figures collected by Herr Schoenhof in 1888, the relation between the wages and hours for weavers in Germany, England, and America, and between the relative cost of production is as follows:—

Country.	Weekly Product per Weaver.	Cost per Yard.	Daily Hours of Work.	Weekly Wages.
Switzerland and Germany	466	0·303	12	11·8
England	706	0·275	9	16·3
America	1,200	0·2	10	20·3

The wages for Germany have shown a great increase since 1850, in some cases as much as 60 per cent., and the cost of production has not been sensibly increased. This is attributed to the substitution of two looms per weaver for one, the increased speed of the new looms, the introduction of payment by the piece, and of labour-saving machinery. Spinners' wages in Germany are only about half what they are in England, whilst the daily hours are 11 or 11½ as against 8 in the English textile trades. A comparison between the industries in the two countries is given in the following table for different kinds of yarn (2):—

TABLE I. 2.—The Cotton Spinning Industry in Germany and in England.

No. of Yarn.	District.	No. of Spindles per Pair of Self-Acting Mules.	No. of Workpeople. Spinners.	No. of Workpeople. Assistants.	Length of Stretch.	Seconds required for one Stretch.	Weekly Working Time.	Weekly Product per Pair of Self-Acting Mules.	Wages of Spinners in Pfennige.	Weekly Wages of Spinners in Marks.	Average Weekly Wages of Assistants in Marks.	Number of Spindles to each Overseer.	Weekly Wages of Overseers in Marks.
					Metres.		Hours.	Kilo.	Per kilo.				
No. 12	Vosges	1,272	2	3	1·6	13	66	1,900	3.9	21	10.80	10,000–20,000	35–40
	Mülhausen	1,280	1	3	1·55	12·5	66	2,050	3.15	24	13.50	,,	,,
No. 28	Vosges	1,272	2	2	1·6	15	66	900	8.89	21	10.80	10,000–20,000	35–40
	Mülhausen	1,280	1	3	1·55	14	66	740	7.02	24	13.50	,,	,,
					In. (Eng.)			Lbs. (Eng.)	Per lb.				
No. 20	Bavaria	1,568	1	3	64	15	65	2,420	1.9	18	10.70	15,000	27
	Würtemberg	1,200	1	4	65	15	65	1,900	2.6	21	10.50	,,	,,
	Saxony	2,000	1	4	68	14	64	3,600	1.7	22	11	10,000	35
	Oldham	2,208	1	2	66	13	55	3,432·5	1.8	45	15.25	—	—
No. 30	South Germany	1,472	1	3	63·8	16	65	1,340	3.37	21	7·70	15,000	20–30
	Bolton	2,064	1	2	64	14·6	55	2,200	3.25	46	12.75	—	—
No. 36	South Germany	1,472	1	3	63·8	19	65	1,095·5	4	21	7.70	15,000	20–30
	Switzerland	1,200	1	2	65	17	65	850	3.9	18	7.50	11,400	21–60
	Saxony	1,704	1	3	65·2	15	65	1,550	3.35	21	8–13	5,000	20–25
		2,000	1	3	68	14	64	1,800	3.2	22	9–13	10,000	3
	Oldham	2,376	1	2	67	13	55	2,182	3·25	38	17.75	—	—
		2,688	1	3	67	13	55	2,723·6	2.88	40.15	12.9	—	—
								d.	s. d.	s. d.			
No. 40	Oldham	1,560	1	2	65	13	55	1,222	0.6	33 5	14 2½	—	—
	Oldham	2,400	1	2	64	13	55	1,650	0.5	36 0	16 4	—	—
									Pf.	M.	M.		
No. 60	Alsace	1,248	1	2	60	22	69	530	9.75	21	12.50	12,000–15,0 0	28–50
	Bolton	1,632	1	2	60	17·7	55	633·3	9.75	40	11	—	—
No. 120	Alsace	1,764	1	3	65	28	69	258	22.75	21.60	10.33	8, 00	28–5
	Bolton	2,280	1	3	58	21	55	333·3	22.28	43	11	—	—

(1) Schulze-Gävernitz, "Der Grossbetrieb," 1892, pp. 112-153. Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts Beamten," 1891, pp. 42-51, 81-88.
(2) Schulze-Gävernitz "Der Grossbetrieb," 1892, pp. 138, 139, 151.

2. *Printing and Bookbinding.*

(*a.*) Wages and hours.

The efforts of German printers to obtain a uniform tariff, the result of a joint agreement between the representatives of the employers and of the employed, have already been described in connection with the strike of 1891–92 (*see* p. 34). The failure of that strike to obtain any advance upon the scale of 1890 leaves wages at a point which, according to Dr. Zahn, is inadequate to meet the average expenses of a moderate family. The scale of 1890 gave a minimum wage of 20.50 marks a week, with local variations of from 5 per cent. to 25 per cent. more. The highest wages paid would not, therefore, amount to more than 25.62 marks, whereas, according to a compositor's budget in 1886, the necessary expenses of a man with a wife and two children of school age amounted to 26.21 marks. In 1890 these expenses, even in cheap districts, were estimated by the manager of a printing office at 32 marks, and in other districts at 45 marks. Taking into account that from 9 to 10 per cent. of the German compositors are regularly out of work, and that their annual wages must therefore suffer a 10 per cent. reduction, it is clear that the conditions of the industry are far from satisfactory. Further, the number of unemployed is continually increasing, owing to the rapid substitution of steam presses for hand presses, which enable boys and girls to perform much of the work formerly restricted to men. In February 1892, after the strike, more than one-fifth of the Berlin printers were out of work, and in the three months, July, August and September of that same year the amount of support granted from the benefit funds was equal to an average allowance for 7·6 days to every member. More than one-third of the members actually came upon the funds. The proportion in the corresponding period of 1891 had been 4·2 days per member, and the number of the members on the fund 23 per cent., or rather over one-fifth. In November and December, when the busy season usually commences, the allowances granted in 1892 still amounted to an average of 2·4 days per member, whilst in 1890 the proportion had been only 1·1 day, or less than half as great. The actual weekly wages paid in Berlin in September 1891 are given as follows:—

	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.
	M.	M.	M.
Overseers	80	30	48.46
Foremen	60	27	36.36
Journeymen:—			
State printing works	37.60	21.90	29.75
Other	60	15	34.31
Assistants:			
State printing works	36.30	21	28.95
Other	18	10	14
Women:			
State printing works	20.10	9.30	14.70
Other	38.90	6	12.32
Apprentices:			
Piece-work	15	10	12
Other	10.50	3	5.52
Boys	16	8	9.85
Girls	8	7	—

For special classes of typographic and lithographic work, the Berlin statistics give the following figures:—

	Highest.	Lowest.	Average.
	M.	M.	M.
Printers:			
Pressmen (*Maschinenmeister*).	57	18	32.33
Compositors:			
(*Schriftsetzer*)	54.50	25	32.13
On piece-work	60	19	35.53
Lithographers	54	15	26
Typefounders	50	18	26.36

The German Bookbinders' Benefit Society (*Unterstützungsverband deutscher Buchbinder* (has published some statistics collected in the winter of 1891–92, from 1,574 workshops, employing 14,745 workpeople, or an average of 9·3 to each workshop. Of these 43·4 per cent. were journeymen binders, 6·2 per cent. assistants, 41 per cent. women, and 9·4 per cent. apprentices. About 74 per cent. of the journeymen were on day wages, and earned amounts varying from 6 marks to 50 marks a week; but the figures below 10 marks or over 20 marks must be regarded as exceptional, the average earnings being between 15 marks and 20 marks. Journeymen on piece-work varied between the same extremes, but earned, as a rule, from 15 marks to 25 marks. Women's wages on piece-work varied between 3 marks and 22 marks a week; when paid by time they varied from 2 marks to 24 marks. In seven districts 70 hours' work a week only brought the women 4 marks, in nine districts 3 marks, and in two (Hamburg and Pforzheim) only 2 marks; a few women on piece-work earned 15 marks, but very many were in an even worse position than those earning day wages. 11 per cent. of the women were married, and at least 31 per cent. of the journeymen, and 32 per cent. of the assistants. About 38·4 per cent. of the men belonged to a labour organisation, but only 5·7 per cent. of the women. The Leipzig local union gave the wages for May 1891, in 55 bookbinders' establishments, employing 1,200 hands, and the figures correspond, in the main, with those given by the Central Society. The average weekly wages were 19.82 marks, or 20.75 marks on piece-work. Boys received as a rule 6.75 marks a week, assistants 16.50 marks, and women 8.75 marks, or 8.40 marks on piece-work. The wages of women were, therefore, higher than in many other districts. In Berlin the following figures are given for men employed in bookbinding:—

	Average weekly Wages, reckoned by Time.	Average Weekly Wages, piece-work.
Bookbinders	22·07	25·65
In album factories	26·45	28
Pressers	27	—
Gilders	23	—
Gold-leaf cutters	24·17	31·61
Leather workers	27	—

The hours of work for printers are, as a rule, ten; the effort made in 1891–92 to secure a nine-hours day proved unsuccessful. During the strike instances of overtime, required from workmen remaining at work, and from apprentices, are mentioned by the factory inspectors as of not unfrequent occurrence. In one instance, boys were kept at work from 6 a.m. until 9 p.m., and numerous employers appear to have regarded this overtime for young persons and apprentices as justified by the press of work arising out of the strike. Night-work for women is also mentioned in some districts. The hours in the bookbinding trade vary, as a rule, from 10 to 12; in Leipzig they are only 9½.[1]

(*b.*) Other conditions.

It is frequently contended that the printing industry is peculiarly unhealthy, owing to the heat, the dust engendered, and the prolonged standing, especially at night. According to statistics collected by Schüler and Burckhardt from the various sick funds, the frequency of disease is calculated in nine industries as follows:—

	No. of Cases per 1,000 employés.
Cotton spinning	235·4
Cotton weaving	285·7
Silk weaving	205·1
Embroidery	307·6
Cotton printing	257·7
Dyeing and lead works	282·1
Paper making	343·7
Printing and bookbinding	180·3
Mechanical workshops	419·8
Normal proportion	292·7

According to this calculation the risk in printing falls far below that in many other industries; but the

[1] "Die Lohnverhältnisse in Berlin, 1891," pp. 68–81. Imperial Office of Statistics, 1892. Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik, Vol. XLV., 1890, pp. 451, 453. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, 1891-92, Vol. I., p. 8., Vol. II., 1892-93, pp. 7, 321. "Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres Berichten der Fabrik Aufsichts-Beamten," 1891, pp. 57, 58, 60, 82, 91, 92.

different branches of the trade taken separately show a more serious record. Here the proportion is—

Typefounders and type-setters	304·7
Printers	250·0
Book-binders	98·9
Various branches	62·6

Taking 292·7 as the normal rate, it will be found that amongst typefounders and type-setters, it is exceeded by 12 per cent., and that this occupation ranks fourth in degree of risk. As regards diseases of the respiratory organs alone it ranks third, and out of the total number of deaths amongst printers, 60·96 per cent. are assigned to this cause. The largest proportion die between the ages of 20 and 30.(1)

3. *Building Industries.*

(a.) Bricklayers' and builders' labourers.

Statistics with regard to bricklayers (*Maurer*) in Germany, in 1890, have been published by the Bricklayers' Congress, and though the number of districts sending in returns was far from exhaustive, the Congress was successful in obtaining replies from 7,221 builders in 202 localities. The average income was said to be 858·46 marks, which is higher than the figures given for the building industries as a whole in the Accident Insurance statistics. There the annual wages in the building industry are given in the Hamburg district as 749 marks, those of the North-Eastern district as 645 marks, of the South-Western as 643 marks, of the Würtemberg as 568 marks, of the Hesse-Nassau as 545 marks, of the Bavarian as 527 marks, of the Thüringian as 455 marks, of the Silesian as 449 marks, of the Hanoverian as 313 marks, and of the Magdeburg as 263 marks. A yearly income of 405 marks is given to brick-making. In 150 districts the yearly earnings of bricklayers were below the average of 858·46 marks, and in 51 they were above it, sometimes rising to as much as 1,400 marks. The daily wages in the 48 districts, in which wages were reckoned by the day, varied from 2 marks to 5·50 marks; where payment was by the hour the rate varied from 15 pf. to 60 pf. The daily working hours were from 9 to 13, with half-an-hour's interval for breakfast, and from one to two hours for dinner. In most districts wages were paid weekly, but in a few cases payment was once a fortnight, in two instances only once a month. In Lauenburg, on the Elbe, the hourly rate of payment in 1891 was 35 pf., giving an average of 2·62 marks a day, and 863·25 a year. In Berlin bricklayers' wages in six establishments are given as from 30 to 36 marks a week, or on an average 33·41 marks. In one establishment they are from 90 to 100 marks a month. The wages in subsidiary industries connected with building are given as from 22·50 marks to 39 marks, with an average of 30 marks. Builders' labourers in Harburg state that their work, which can only be carried on for nine months in each year and is paid at the rate of 40 pf. an hour, brings in an average yearly income of 928 marks. Out of this they reckon that 180 marks go for house rent, 52 marks for firing, 5·20 marks for lights, 4·80 marks for invalid insurance, 23·40 marks for sick insurance, 4 marks for the trade journal, 4·20 marks for taxes, 3·60 marks for subscriptions to the trade union, and 60 marks for clothing and boots and shoes. This leaves 590·80 marks a year to feed an average family of five persons, or, excluding fractions, 11·36 marks a week. On this calculation the food for each person must not cost more than 32 pf. a day, or 2·27 marks a week. A comparison of this sum with the labourers' estimate of the cost of absolute necessaries results in an annual deficit of 302·60 marks, which can only be met by further deprivations, or by the labour of the wife and children.(2)

(b.) Brickmakers.

Until the amendment to the Industrial Code was passed in 1891, the conditions of labour in brickyards were of the most unsatisfactory character. Great use was made of the labour of women and children, and the previous provisions of the Code for their protection were inapplicable to yards in which no steam power was employed. Consequently day shifts often worked from sunrise to sunset, and seldom for less than 13 or 14 hours, with only a break of from 10 to 15 minutes morning and afternoon, and in the most favourable cases an hour for dinner. Women were given work far beyond their strength, and men were frequently allowed to sleep on boards in close proximity to the kilns. The factory inspectors also report many breaches of the law against the truck system and instances of the employment of children under 12 years of age, even in heavy work such as carrying stones or in dangerous work in connection with the kilns. Regulations for restricting the labour of women and children in this industry have, however, recently been published by the Federal Council.(1)

(c.) Carpenters and joiners.

The different classes of carpenters and joiners, including carpenters proper (*Zimmerer*), joiners and cabinet-makers (*Schreiner* and *Tischler*), who appear from the Berlin statistics to be sometimes included in the building trades, and turners (*Drechsler*) have all recently published statistics with regard to their industries. The wages of carpenters (*Zimmerer*) in different districts are classified as follows:—

Number of Districts sending in Returns.

Daily Wages.	Year in which the Returns were made.					
	1885.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
Under 2 marks	10	5	10	7	—	—
2-3 marks	88	34	76	67	57	45
3-4 „	33	28	43	44	81	93
4-5	2	8	9	19	25	25
5 marks and over	1	3	3	4	15	15
Total	134	78	141	141	178	178

Up to 1889, therefore, the most usual wage was from 2 to 3 marks a week, but in 1890 and 1891 the largest number of districts appear to pay between 3 and 4 marks. The daily working hours are distributed as follows:—

Number of Districts sending in Returns.

Length of the Working Day.	Year in which the Returns were made.			
	1885.	1888.	1889.	1891.
Under 10 hours	41	2	1	—
„ 10 11 hours	7	39	69	113
„ 11-12 „	66	47	71	64
12 hours and over	20	—	6	3
Total	134	88	147	180

Restriction of hours has, therefore, coincided with advance of wages, since up to 1889 the usual working time was from 11 to 12 hours, whilst in 1891 most districts worked an hour less. It is also noticeable that the districts paying the highest wages coincide with those working the shortest hours. According to the workmen's paper "Der Zimmerer" (No. 40, 1892)—

			M.	
19,361	carpenters working	60	hours earn	23·10 a week.
10,135	„	66	„	18·11 „
529	„	72	„	16·56 „
5	„	78	„	14·82 „

The average rise in the daily wages between 1885 and 1891, taking all districts together, is 86 pf. a day, or from 2·88 marks to 3·74 marks a week. In the districts which, even in 1885, were paying the highest wages, the rise is still greater, viz., from 3·14 marks to 4·39 marks. This rise is attributed to the impetus given to the industry by speculative building rather than to any special degree of organisation. In the larger towns, where the higher wages are paid, there is great fluctuation of employment, whereas in the smaller places a man will often work all his life for the same employer and receive a house and garden in addition to wages. A carpenter stated that he had worked in Quedlinburg (Prussian Saxony) for 2·50 marks, then in Magdeburg for 4 marks, and finally in Hamburg for 6 marks without being able to make any appreciable difference in his manner of living. In Berlin carpenters' wages are given as from 25 marks to 36 marks a week, with an average of 33 marks, whilst those of carpenters' assistants are from 22·50 marks to 36 marks, with an average of 27·95 marks. The Carpenters' Union gives the averages as 27 marks and 24 marks respectively,

(1) Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft, vol. XV., No. 2, pp. 213-239, Article by Albrecht. Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichts Beamten, 1891, pp. 196, 214.

(2) Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. I., 1891-2, pp. 156, 227, 311. "Die Lohnverhältnisse in Berlin im September 1891," p. 80, Imperial Office of Statistics, 1892.

(1) Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, 1891-2, vol. I., pp. 192, 298. Labour Gazette, June 1893.

According to the statistics collected in 1891 from 44,642 joiners (*Schreiner*) and cabinet-makers (*Tischler*) 56·7 per cent. of the whole number are on piece-work, as against 53·9 per cent. in 1889, and 43·3 per cent. are paid by the day as against 46·1 per cent. in the earlier year. The average hourly wages of joiners on piece-work was 33·86 pf. in 1889, and 30·82 pf. in 1891; the rates for day-work were 29·62 pf. in 1889 and 29·96 pf. in 1891. In 1889 the average yearly income was 944·40 marks, and in 1891 it was 937·50 marks. The decrease is partly accounted for by the inclusion of a large number of small towns in the returns for 1891. The close connexion between shorter hours and higher wages appears from the following table:—

TABLE J.

No. of Workmen.	No. of Hours per Week.	Average length of Working Week.	Wages per Hour on			Wages per Week on		
			Day-work.	Piece-work.	Average.	Day-work.	Piece-work.	Average.
7,305	Hours. Up to 57	Hours. 56–43	Pf. 39·1	Pf. 37·3	Pf. 38·1	M. 22·04	M. 21·06	M. 21·48
19,979	57–60	59–82	31·5	33·1	32·2	18·82	19·83	19·29
6,416	60–63	62–48	27·4	29·1	28·2	17·10	18·17	17·65
7,871	63–66	65–29	24·2	25·1	24·8	15·70	16·38	16·16
1,293	66–72	68–59	21·5	21·0	21·7	14·73	15·05	14·91

Workmen receiving board and lodging in addition to wages, and paid on the same scale, earn, including the value of board and lodging:—

		P.		M.	
For	57 hours work,	30·7	an hour and	17·50	a week.
,,	57–60 ,,	26·9	,,	16·11	,,
,,	60–63 ,,	27·7	,,	17·30	,,
,,	63–66 ,,	21·5	,,	14·13	,,
,,	66–72 ,,	19·5	,,	13·76	,,
,,	78 ,,	15·7	,,	12·25	,,

The Berlin official statistics give a higher rate of wages than any included in the statistics of wages of the Cabinet-makers' Union. The average weekly wages paid are as follows:—

	On Piece-work.	On Day Wages.
	M.	M.
Joiners merely	26·86	23·22
		16·68 (Government service.)
Cabinet-makers	36·40	31·26
		19·68 (Government service.)
Assistants	29·47	21·99
General average	30·60	—

The proportion of men out of employment in the trade may be estimated from the statistics of the Cabinet-makers' Union, which state that during 1891 one out of every five members was given travelling money in order to seek employment, and that this proportion showed an increase of 257 per cent. since 1889. The allowances given to men out of work increased during the same period from 3,778 marks to 21,902 marks, an advance of 479 per cent. Instances of very long hours for apprentices are given in some districts; in Magdeburg they were said to be 75 a week, in Kirchheim, Schkeuditz (Prussian Saxony), and Stettin, 72, and in Wittenberg, 84. A strike in Upper Silesia succeeded in reducing the weekly hours worked at Beuthen by 15, and the overtime by 75 per cent.

According to the statistics published by the Central Association of Turners the usual working hours are stated to be from 6 a.m. to 6 or 7 p.m., with pauses, amounting in all to 1½ hours. The hours of actual work averaged 10·15 or 11·20 for workmen boarding with the employers. Rather more than one-fourth of the men worked from 11 to 13 hours a day. The average weekly wages were 16·82 marks for Germany as a whole, as against 18·39 marks in 1890. Their local variations are exhibited in the following table:—

	1890.	1892.
	M.	M.
Berlin	21·20	21·10
Brunswick	16·71	16·50
Breslau	13·16	13·15
Cassel	18·34	14·44
Chemnitz	19·30	17·25
Cologne	19·40	19·28
Dortmund	17·25	17·0
Dresden	17·67	18·75
Esslingen	17·0	15·98
Halle	17·61	19·14
Hamburg	22·02	22·37
Hanover	18·80	17·34
Harburg	21·70	22·37
Leipzig	20·66	19·32
Liegnitz	14·40	13·67
Offenbach	17·60	16·19
Stuttgart	18·08	18·66
Wiesbaden	18·70	16·60

The relations between hours and wages is thus indicated:—

467 workmen working 11 to 11½ hours a day earn 13·98 marks a week.

914 workmen working 10 to 10¾ hours a day earn 16·79 marks a week.

488 workmen working 9 to 9¼ hours a day earn 20·95 marks a week.

The 139 journeymen, boarding with their employers earned between 3 marks and 10 marks a week in money, and averaged 5·95 marks. As regards methods of payment 1,212 workmen paid by the piece averaged 16·38 marks a week, whilst 476 working by the day averaged 18·07 marks; 147 home workers earned 12·51 marks a week. It was necessary for the wife to supplement the husband's wages by taking work in 49 per cent. of the total number of cases investigated. Forty-two per cent. of the men earned less than the average wages. The relation of expenditure to income appears from the following table of sums expended:—

Income.		Food.		House Rent.		Other Necessaries.		Average Total Expenditure.	Deficit.	
Range of Income.	Average Amount.	Average Expenditure.	Per cent. of Total Expenditure.	Average Expenditure.	Per cent. of Total Expenditure.	Average Expenditure.	Per cent. of Total Expenditure.		Average.	Per cent. of Income.
M.	M.	M.		M.		M.		M.	M.	
600 to 800	717	580	73·6	80·4	10·2	127·7	16·2	788·1	71·1	10
801 to 900	840·8	579·5	66·5	104·4	11·9	186·7	21·6	870·6	29·8	3·5
901 and over	1,138·3	739·3	63·5	166·7	14·5	252·8	22·0	1,149·8	11·5	1

Statistics collected by the turners (*Drechsler*), of Dresden give the wages paid as from 8·50 marks to 28·88 marks a week. These include an average in—

	M.
The furniture branch of	17·62
,, walking stick branch of	15·15
,, carving branch of	22·20
Different branches	19·31

In Berlin the average weekly wages paid are given as follows:—(1)

	On Piece-work.	On Day Wages.
	M.	M.
Turners	23·03	21·98
Carvers	21·0	21·0
Polishers	22·0	21·0
Walking-stick makers	22·0	18·0
Brush and pencil makers	23·83	19·26
Furniture polishers	23·17	23·24

(*d.*) House painters.

The statistics collected in 1887 by a local union of house painters and workmen in kindred trades, such as gilders and varnishers, give the highest yearly income of an individual as 1,700 marks in Mannheim and the lowest as 350 marks in Harburg. The highest average incomes are 900 marks in Mannheim, 867 marks in Altona, and 819 marks in Hanover. In 1887 Sunday labour was still usual in the trade. The wages returned for Berlin for the corresponding industries in September 1891 give the following weekly averages:—(2)

	On Piece-work.	On Day Wages.
	M.	M.
Painters	—	24
Painters' assistants	24	—
Whitewashers	26·50	—
Varnishers	27·20	23·82
		16·68 (Government work.)
Gilders	—	22·50

4. Makers of Mechanical Instruments (Feinmechanik).

According to statistics prepared by the Berlin Office of Statistics from material collected from the Accident Insurance Associations the proportion of workmen in various wage classes is given for every 1,000 workmen in the following table:—

TABLE K 1.

Daily Wages.	Proportion per 1,000 Men.		Proportion per 1,000 Women.	
Up to 0·75 marks	68·5		2·0	10
From 0·75-1·0 „			8·0	
„ 1·0 -1·25 „			30·	208
„ 1·25-1·50 „			178·	
„ 1·50-1·75 „	19·6		317·	463
„ 1·75-2·0 „	19·0		146·	
„ 2·0 -2·25 „	18·8	248·6	103·	195
„ 2·25-2·50 „	33·5		92·	
„ 2·50-2·75 „	33·9		53·	75
„ 2·75-3·0 „	55·3		22·	
„ 3·0 -3·25 „	64·6		27·	
„ 3·25-3·50 „	90·0		12·	
„ 3·50-3·75 „	94·1	337·5	4·	
„ 3·75-4·0 „	88·8		4·	
„ 4·0 -4·25 „	76·3			
„ 4·25-4·50 „	64·6			
„ 4·50-4·75 „	54·5			49
„ 4·75-5·0 „	50·0			
„ 5·0 -5·25 „	42·3	413·9	2·	
„ 5·25-5·50 „	32·8			
„ 5·50-5·75 „	24·2			
„ 5·75-6·0 „	19·0			
Over 6·0	50·2			

According to this table, whilst only about 25 per cent. of the men in the mechanical industry are in receipt of less than 3 marks a day, the proportion amongst the women amounts to 95 per cent., and whilst amongst the men less than 7 per cent. earn below 1·50 marks a day, the daily wages of nearly 22 per cent. of the women fall below that limit. From 3 to 4 marks is earned by 34 per cent. of the men, but only by about 4½ per cent. of the women. Two-fifths of the men, or 41 per cent., earn over 4 marks, 17 per cent. over 5 marks and 5 per cent. over 6 marks; but the percentage of women earning over 4 marks does not exceed 0·2 per cent. The exceptionally high wages paid in this industry as compared with others find their natural explanation in the great preponderance of highly skilled labour. Low as the women's wages are when compared with those of the men, they are considerably above the general level of women's wages in other trades (*see* p. 41). On the other hand, it is stated that only 19 per cent. of the men and 2·5 per cent. of the women are engaged for 300 days in every year, whilst the percentage of men engaged for 276 days is 33, and of women 13. Seven per cent. of the male staff employed were boys between 14 and 16, and 6 per cent. of the female staff were girls of the same age. The boys do not earn more than 2·50 marks a day, and about half of them earn less than 1 mark. The percentage of men in the various classes earning under a certain sum is given in the following table:—

TABLE K 2.

Age Classes.	Daily Earnings. Below 3 M.	Below 4 M.	Below 5 M.	Below 6 M.	Over 6 M.
17-20	55	88	98	100	0
21-25	17	62	88	98	2
26-30	11	47	79	94	6
31-35	7	39	72	91	9
36-40	6	34	68	88	12
41-45	8	35	68	88	12
46-50	7	37	68	88	12
51-60	15	46	71	88	12
Over 60	25	59	82	92	8
Total percentage in all Age Classes	25	59	84	95	5

Note.—In the above table the percentages in the four first columns must each be taken to include those in the preceding columns.

Amongst women it is easier to calculate the proportion in each class earning over 2 marks a day. The result gives the following percentages:—

Age.	Percentage.
17-20	27
21-25	41
26-30	38
31-40	44
Over 40	36

An examination of these tables shows that amongst men wages tend to rise until the 50th year is past; after that period the percentage in the lower wage classes increases. With women the decline comes apparently earlier, but the number of women included in the table is too small to admit of very exact conclusions.(1)

5. Chemical Workers.

Similar statistics have been compiled by the Berlin Office of Statistics for the Berlin chemical industries. The wage tables for the men and women employed give the following proportions per 1,000 in each class:—

(1) Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892-93, pp. 213, 272, 359, 511. "Die Lohnverhältnisse in Berlin im September, 1891," pp. 63-81, Imperial Office of Statistics, 1892.

(2) "Die Neue Zeit," 1889, No. 5, "Die Lohnverhältnisse in Berlin im September 1891, pp. 69-81, Imperial Office of Statistics, 1892.

(1) Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892-3, p. 392.

TABLE L.

Daily Wages.	Proportion per 1,000 Men.		Proportion per 1,000 Women.	
Up to 0·75 marks			4·	
From 0·75–1·0 marks	19·4		52·	56
„ 1·0 –1·25 „			155·	
„ 1·25–1·50 „			261·	416
„ 1·50–1·75 „	20·7		274·	
„ 1·75–2·0 „	24·6	433·4	124·	398
„ 2·0 –2·25 „	33·2		62·	
„ 2·25–2·50 „	54 2		31·	93
„ 2·50–2·75 „	97·4		25·	
„ 2·75–3·0 „	153·9		4·	29
„ 3·0 –3·25 „	147·6		1·	
„ 3·25–3·50 „	125·0	417·1	2·	
„ 3·50–3·75 „	82·7		1·	
„ 3·75–4·0 „	61·8		1·	
„ 4·0 –4·25 „	40·2			
„ 4·25–4·50 „	23·5			
„ 4·50–4·75 „	17·2			8
„ 4·75–5·0 „	18·2			
„ 5·0 –5·25 „	9·4	149·5	3	
„ 5·25–5·50 „	8·0			
„ 5·50–5·75 „	5·1			
„ 5·75–6·0 „	7·0			
Over 6·0 marks	20·9			

Amongst the men employed 43 per cent. earn less than 3 marks a day, whilst the proportion amongst the women is 99·2 per cent. Only about 5 per cent. of the men earn under 1·50 marks, as against over 47 per cent, or nearly half the women. Nearly 42 per cent. of the men earn between 3 and 4 marks and 14 per cent. over 4 marks. Of the women only 0·3 per cent. earn 4 marks and only 0·5 per cent. over 3 marks. Work is more regular than amongst the makers of mechanical instruments, which is a partial compensation for the lower wages; a large proportion of the labour employed is unskilled. 38 per cent. of the men and 20 per cent. of the women worked 300 days in the year, whilst 44 per cent. and 30 per cent. respectively worked 276 days. Here again, as in the more skilled industry, the uncertainty of women's work is apparently much greater than that of men. 419 men and 17 women are reported to have worked over 350 days in the year, whilst 179 men and 3 women worked between 326 and 350 days. (1)

6. Millers.

The statistics published with the help of the German Millers' Union in 1891 show that this industry is still very low down in the scale of organisation. The average annual earnings in 1889 were 609 marks, in 1890 only 596 marks. In some districts the yearly income was as low as 397 marks in 1889, and 361 marks in 1890, whilst in one of the seventeen sections distinguished under the Accident Insurance Law for this industry, it rose to 754 marks in 1889 and 784 marks in 1890. Five of the sections showed a rise of from 2 to 30 marks during this period, but on the other hand wages fell in twelve sections by amounts varying from 5 to 49 marks. Some millers pay their assistants no fixed wages at all, but allow them to be mainly dependent upon the gratuities of customers. Throughout the industry it is usual to give board and lodging in lieu of wages, or with a very small pecuniary addition, and the board and lodging provided are frequently of the most wretched description. The length of the working day is often excessive. Only 12 per cent. of the mills sending in returns limited the hours of work to twelve in addition to overtime, 14 per cent. worked 14 hours, 11½ per cent. from 15 to 16, 45 per cent. from 17 to 18, 8 per cent. from 19 to 20, and in 7 per cent. it was not unusual for 36 hours to be worked at a stretch. Only about one mill in nine ceased work on Sundays, two-thirds worked as long on Sundays as on weekdays, and in the remainder work was carried on for periods varying from 6 to 12 hours. The Factory Inspector for East and West Prussia reports that, when questioning members of the trade as to the hours of work, he was told that "it would be a poor miller who needed more than four hours' sleep." Similar reports were received from the inspector for Posen. The Millers' Union demand a 12 hours' working day, Sunday rest, the abolition of payment in kind, or where that is not attainable a reform in the quality of the board and lodging provided, the inspection of mills, prohibition of night work for apprentices, and a restriction in the number of apprentices to a certain proportion of the adult workmen employed. Their organisation is as yet too weak to enforce its demands, and in the Kingdom of Saxony it has been denied the right of legal personality. (1)

(1) "Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt," vol. II., 1892-3, pp. 202, 392.

7. Bakers and Confectioners.

Very complete statistics with regard to the working hours of bakers and confectioners were collected in 1892 by the Imperial Office of Statistics in consequence of the attention aroused by the publication in 1890 of the results of a private inquiry conducted by Herr Bebel. This inquiry had elicited the following statistics for regular daily work:—

TABLE M 1.

Week Days.

No. of Establishments.	No. of Hours.	Percentage of Total Number investigated.
7	9	
20	10	23·2
38	11	
89	12	
89	13	
141	14	48·5
91	15	
76	16	
62	17	
30	18	28·7
16	19	
4	20	

Sundays.

No. of Establishments.	No. of Hours.	Percentage of Total Number investigated.
18	None	2·8
4	4	
4	5	
5	6	
5	7	15·3
22	8	
21	9	
40	10	
41	11	
93	12	34·3
94	13	
101	14	
72	15	27·9
54	16	
46	17	
22	18	20·6
10	19	
8	20	

Overtime is not included in these figures, nor, as a rule, the time employed in getting the work ready, which would, as a rule, increase the hours by at least one. The largest cities are especially remarkable for the length of the working hours in bakeries. In Berlin, Herr Bebel stated that 86·6 per cent. of the establishments worked over 14 hours a day; in Frankfurt-am-Main, the percentage was 85·3; in Offenburg, 84·6; in Altona, 68; in Dresden, 59; in Leipzig, 58·7; and in Hamburg, 52·2. The official inquiry instituted in 1892 took in the smaller towns and country districts to a much greater extent than had been done by Herr Bebel, and pursued its investigations with great minuteness. The chief results are given in Table M 2 (*see* pp. 64 and 65), which represents a summary of four tables published by the Imperial Office of Statistics, and arranged on various principles, but, with some difficulty, admitting of a uniform arrangement.

According to these statistics, work in 42·6 per cent. of the ordinary bakeries begins before midnight; if the large towns are taken alone, the percentage rises to 77·9. South Germany includes the largest number of cases, and Mid-Germany the fewest; the respective percentages are 53·2 per cent. and 18·6 per cent. In rather more than half the establishments working at night the daily hours, including intervals, do not exceed 12; the employers give the percentage as 59·4, and the employed as 47. The conditions are most unfavourable in this respect in North-West Germany,

(1) "Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt," Vol. I., 1891-2, p. 7. Foreign Office Report, Miscellaneous Series, No. 283, 1893, pp. 8, 9.

and most favourable in Mid-Germany. The percentage of establishments working long hours appears to rise in proportion to the size of the towns, and it is stated that the larger establishments work longer than those employing only one or two hands. Regular overtime is worked in about 30 per cent. of all the ordinary bakeries on one or two days in the week for two hours or more, and before festivals and on similar occasions 7 per cent. work overtime. 35 per cent. of the bakeries professing to work by day only begin before 5.30 a.m., and thus encroach upon the hours included under night work by the Industrial Code. The daily hours do not exceed 12 in 76 per cent. of these bakeries; according to the employed the percentage should be 72·1, and according to the employers, 81·8. North-Eastern and Southern Germany return the shortest hours, Mid-Germany the longest. Regular overtime is worked in 36·4 per cent. of the day bakeries, and overtime on special occasions in 66·7 per cent. Sunday work is only reported in 22·4 per cent., whilst in ordinary night bakeries the percentage is 93·7. The hours in confectioners' bakeries are very similar to those of day bakeries; in 65·3 per cent. they do not exceed 12. In Mid and South Germany the average working day is shorter than in North Germany; Sunday is the day upon which there is the greatest demand for confectioners' wares, and 89·7 per cent. of their bakeries are busy on Sunday. The following table gives the hours in the retail branches of the trade, and at the same time calls attention to the large number of women employed, and the length of time during which they are kept at work.

TABLE M 3.

HOURS OF WORK in BAKERS' and CONFECTIONERS' SHOPS.

Establishments grouped according to Districts and Sources of Information.	Working Hours in Retail Shops.									
	Bakers.						Confectioners.			
	Per-centage of Women employed.	Per-centage of Establishments in which					Per-centage of Women employed.	Per-centage of Establishments having a Selling Time of		
		The Selling Hours are			The Selling Time begins before 5.30 a.m.			14 Hours or less.	More than	
		14 Hours or less.	More than		All Establishments.	Establishments employing Women.			14 to 16 Hours.	16 Hours.
			14 to 16 Hours.	16 Hours.						
German Empire	97·0	7·4	56·7	35·9	51·8	49·8	90·1	32·9	61·7	6·1
Large towns	98·1	6·6	48·9	44·5	54·4	52·9	86·3	31·9	57·5	10·6
Medium towns	96·1	5·6	62·2	32·2	54·9	52·4	95·0	35·7	63·1	1·2
Small towns	93·9	19·2	57·5	23·3	39·7	37·0	97·2	28·1	65·6	6·3
Places with less than 5,000 inhabitants.	100·0	—	79·4	20·6	35·3	35·3	100·0	—	100·0	—
According to—										
Employers	97·3	9·5	58·0	32·5	48·2	46·9	93·1	33·6	63·5	2·9
Employed	96·7	4·9	55·2	39·9	55·9	53·1	88·7	30·9	60·0	9·1

In half the bakers' establishments the women begin work before 5.30 a.m., in more than half their hours are from 14 to 16, and in more than one-third that limit is exceeded. In confectioners' shops the conditions are better, and the percentage in which they exceed 16 is only 6·1.

The wages of bakers have not been collected and classified with their hours, and it is not, therefore, possible to give them for Germany as a whole. In Bremen, however, 128 journeymen gave their wages as follows:—

28 earned 10 to 13 marks a week with board.
24 ,, 9 ,, ,, ,,
19 ,, 8 ,, ,, ,,
20 ,, 7 ,, ,, ,,
32 ,, 6 ,, ,, ,,
3 ,, 5 ,, ,, ,,
2 ,, 4 ,, ,, ,,
14 ,, 60–65 ,, month without board.

In Berlin 12 marks a week is said to be the average, with 18 marks for foremen; in a number of cases, however, the weekly earnings do not exceed 8 or 9 marks. Confectioners' wages are somewhat higher, and the average is about 16 marks a week (1).

8. *Shop Assistants.*

The conditions of labour for shop assistants have been made the subject of a Government inquiry, the results of which were published in 1893. Out of 8,235 establishments investigated, 45 per cent. gave their hours as 14, 15, 16, or more; but only 42 per cent. stated that they opened before 7 a.m., and 38 per cent. that they closed after 9 p.m. In 45 per cent. of the establishments there was no definite mid-day interval, and in the remaining 55 per cent. it appeared that some persons were left on duty whilst the others rested. Where the assistants were boarded in, the hours were often longer, and there was a strong feeling in favour of the abolition of the practice. Definite overtime was only found in 36 per cent., but in this connexion it should be noted that the hours were often so long already as to make overtime improbable, if not impossible. Men's hours are considerably longer than those of women, a fact due to a great extent to the difference in the class of establishments, since the men are chiefly employed in grocers' shops, and shops doing an evening as well as a day trade, women in drapers' and milliners' shops, which, as a rule, close earlier. Men's hours were over 15 in 26 per cent. of the establishments investigated, from 14 to 15 in 13 per cent., from 13 to 14 in 13 per cent., and below 13 in less than half the total number. Only 22 per cent. of the establishments keep the women they employ at work over 14 hours, 12 per cent. from 13 to 14, and the majority less than 13 hours; but 37 per cent. of the shop-girls had no regular mid-day interval. Apprentices were in an even worse case, for they were allowed no definite interval in 54 per cent. of the establishments, in 16 per cent. they worked from 14 to 15 hours, in 26 per cent. from 15 to 16 hours, and in 8 per cent. over 16 hours. Here again the girls fared better than the boys, for their hours were over 14 in only 17 per cent. of the establishments, and in 75 per cent. they are allowed a regular mid-day interval. Only 30 per cent. of the employers sent their apprentices to any secondary school. The inquiry brings out the fact that any improvement in the conditions of labour is in inverse proportion to the size of the establishment and of the town in which it is situated. The largest towns return the shortest hours; only 5·8 per cent. of the establishments in large towns keep their employés at work more than 16 hours, whilst the per-centage in country towns is 14 per cent. Again, 8 per cent. of the establishments employing one assistant only work 16 hours, whilst the percentage in those employing from four to nine assistants is three, and in those employing more than 10 assistants a 16 hours' working day does not appear at all. Some attempt is being made by the Government to supplement the returns from the establishments by obtaining oral information from the employés, but the results are not yet published.

(1.) Erhebung über die Arbeitszeit in Bäckereien und Conditoreien, September 1892. Bebel, "Zur Lage der Arbeiter in den Bäckereien," 1890. "Die Lohnverhältnisse in Berlin im September 1891," p. 70, Imperial Office of Statistics, 1892. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. I., 1891-2., p. 262; vol. II., 1892-3, p. 209.

TABLE

HOURS of WORK for BAKERS and CONFECTIONERS in GERMANY as

Branches of the Industry according to Districts and Localities, and according to Returns received from Employers and from Employed.	Percentage of Establishments Working on Sundays.	Percentage of Establishments Employing Journeymen Bakers.	Week-day Working Hours: Percentage of Establishments: Begins: Before 5.30 a.m. or Midnight (1)	Begins: After 5.30 a.m. or Midnight (1)	Ends: Before 8.30 p.m. or Mid-day. (1)	Ends: After 8.30 p.m. or Mid-day. (1)	Lasts: Including Pauses: 12 hours and less.	More than 12 to 14 hours.	More than 14 to 16 hours.	More than 16 hours.	An indefinite number of hours.
I.—BAKERIES WORKING IN THE DAY.											
German Empire	22·4	85·0	35·2	64·5	96·7	2·2	64·5	28·9	4·4	1·1	1·1
Including—											
North-Eastern Germany	31·8	95·5	31·0	69·0	100·0	—	71·4	26·2	2·4	—	—
North-Western Germany	16·6	83·9	38·5	61·0	96·3	2·1	64·7	28·3	3·8	1·6	1·6
Mid Germany	24·2	87·9	17·2	82·8	96·6	3·4	48·3	37·9	13·8	—	—
South Germany	61·9	71·4	40·0	60·0	93·3	6·7	73·3	26·7	—	—	—
Or including—											
Large towns	30·6	91·7	30·3	69·7	97·0	3·0	57·6	33·3	6·1	3·0	—
Medium towns	22·1	93·0	30·0	68·8	95·0	2·5	67·5	26·3	3·7	—	2·5
Small towns	21·4	81·0	41·2	58·8	98·5	1·5	79·4	16·2	4·4	—	—
Country towns	13·1	78·7	39·6	60·4	97·9	2·1	39·6	47·9	8·3	4·2	—
Places with less than 2,000 inhabitants	29·6	81·5	34·1	65·9	95·5	2·3	68·2	29·5	—	—	2·3
According to—											
Employers	19·4	80·6	32·1	67·1	96·4	2·2	64·2	28·5	4·4	1·5	1·4
Employed	25·8	90·1	38·2	61·8	97·1	2·2	64·7	29·4	4·4	0·8	0·7
II.—BAKERIES WORKING AT NIGHT.											
German Empire	93·7	90·3	42·5	57·5	71·2	28·8	60·7	25·5	10·5	2·2	1·1
Including—											
North-Eastern Germany	100·0	87·8	51·6	48·4	79·2	20·8	58·4	28·4	10·4	1·7	1·1
North-Western Germany	77·7	93·9	35·3	64·7	53·4	46·6	54·2	27·5	13·2	3·0	2·1
Mid Germany	99·5	91·6	18·6	81·4	69·6	30·4	73·5	20·6	4·4	0·8	0·7
South Germany	99·4	88·8	53·1	46·9	80·8	19·2	62·1	23·5	11·3	2·9	0·2
Or including—											
Large towns	95·9	92·9	77·9	22·1	81·2	18·8	40·1	39·0	17·6	2·6	0·7
Medium towns	91·9	91·8	37·2	62·8	66·2	33·8	63·1	22·7	9·9	2·8	1·5
Small towns	93·6	87·0	22·3	77·7	68·0	32·0	73·4	18·9	5·5	1·3	0·9
Country towns	97·0	88·1	16·5	83·5	72·2	27·8	76·9	15·6	5·4	1·8	0·3
Places with less than 2,000 inhabitants	90·8	80·6	16·3	84·7	71·6	28·4	75·9	17·7	5·7	0·7	—
According to—											
Employers	93·7	88·9	41·3	58·7	75·3	24·7	66·3	23·9	7·1	1·7	1·0
Employed	93·6	91·7	43·8	56·2	66·9	33·1	54·9	27·1	14·1	2·8	1·1
III.—CONFECTIONERS' BAKERIES.											
German Empire	89·7	85·5	6·7	92·6	96·8	0·2	54·7	41·9	0·2	0·2	3·0
Including—											
North-Eastern Germany	95·8	93·3	17·1	81·1	95·5	—	40·5	55·0	—	—	4·5
North-Western Germany	84·8	77·5	4·7	95·3	96·3	—	48·6	45·8	0·9	0·9	3·8
Mid Germany	88·3	90·0	1·9	98·1	98·1	1·9	61·1	38·9	—	—	—
South Germany	89·9	84·8	1·5	97·8	97·8	—	68·7	29·1	—	—	2·2
Or including—											
Large towns	87·4	84·4	13·2	86·8	100·0	—	61·4	37·7	0·9	—	—
Medium towns	93·7	90·6	1·7	97·7	95·4	0·6	50·3	45·1	—	0·6	4·0
Small towns	89·4	79·7	5·1	93·9	96·9	—	57·1	39·8	—	—	3·1
Country towns	71·4	76·2	18·8	75·0	87·5	—	37·5	50·0	—	—	12·5
Places with less than 2,000 inhabitants	80·0	100·0	20·0	80·0	100·0	—	60·0	40·0	—	—	—
According to—											
Employers	88·2	84·0	6·0	93·5	96·0	0·5	55·0	41·5	—	—	3·5
Employed	91·1	86·9	7·3	91·7	97·6	—	54·4	42·2	0·5	0·5	2·4

(1) The alternatives "Midnight" and "Mid-day" apply only to the second-class of bakeries.

M 2.

published by the IMPERIAL OFFICE OF STATISTICS in 1892.(2)

of Journeymen Bakers.										Out of every 100 establishments Overtime is worked											
ments in which work										Regularly on certain Week-days, viz.,						Before Festivals, &c. on					
Lasts.										On 1 or 2 days.		On 3 or 4 days.		On an indefinite number of days.							
Excluding Pauses					Including Subsidiary Work and Excluding Pauses.																
10 hours and less.	More than 10 to 12 hours.	More than 12 to 14 hours.	More than 14 hours.	An indefinite number of hours.	12 hours and less.	More than 12 to 14 hours.	More than 14 to 16 hours.	More than 16 hours.	An indefinite number of hours.	Up to 2 hours.	More than 2 hours.	Up to 2 hours.	More than 2 hours.	Up to 2 hours.	More than 2 hours.	Indefinite number of hours.	7 days and less.	8 to 14 days.	15 to 21 days.	22 to 28 days.	More than 28 days.	Indefinite number of days.
50·6	31·1	13·9	3·3	1·1	76·9	16·5	5·1	0·4	1·1	6·5	10·0	0·9	1·6	1·6	4·0	5·0	36·4	15·6	2·5	1·6	3·4	7·2
52·4	38·1	9·5	—	—	88·1	9·5	2·4	—	—	—	6·8	—	2·3	—	2·3	4·5	9·1	13·6	2·3	6·8	13·6	9·1
54·0	27·8	13·9	2·7	1·6	77·0	16·6	4·3	0·5	1·6	9·4	12·6	1·3	1·3	1·3	4·5	5·4	42·2	15·2	2·2	0·4	1·8	7·6
27·6	37·9	20·7	13·8	—	55·2	27·6	17·2	—	—	—	3·0	—	3·0	6·1	6·1	3·0	27·3	27·3	6·1	—	3·0	3·0
46·7	40·3	13·3	—	—	86·7	13·3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4·8	47·6	4·8	—	4·8	—	4·8
30·3	51·5	15·2	3·0	—	78·8	15·1	6·1	—	—	11·1	—	—	—	—	2·8	8·3	27·8	8·3	—	5·6	19·4	5·6
51·3	28·7	17·5	—	2·5	77·5	20·0	—	—	2·5	2·3	19·8	2·3	2·3	1·2	3·5	3·5	33·7	16·3	3·5	2·3	3·5	9·3
60·3	29·4	5·9	4·4	—	83·8	7·4	8·8	—	—	8·3	6·0	1·2	1·2	2·4	4·8	7·1	38·1	19·0	2·4	—	—	8·3
41·7	25·0	22·9	10·4	—	60·4	25·0	12·5	2·1	—	4·9	8·2	—	1·6	3·3	6·6	1·6	36·1	21·3	3·3	—	1·0	6·6
59·1	29·5	9·1	—	2·3	81·8	15·9	—	—	2·3	9·3	9·3	—	1·9	—	1·9	5·6	44·4	7·4	1·9	1·9	—	3·7
48·2	36·5	10·9	2·9	1·5	81·8	12·4	3·6	0·7	5·9	5·9	9·4	—	2·9	2·9	2·9	5·3	32·4	14·1	4·1	2·4	2·9	8·2
53·0	25·7	16·9	3·7	0·7	72·1	20·6	6·6	—	0·7	7·3	10·6	2·0	—	—	5·3	4·6	41·1	17·2	0·7	0·7	4·0	6·0
46·6	31·2	15·9	5·2	1·1	53·3	28·6	13·2	3·8	1·1	7·8	9·9	0·8	1·6	2·1	2·5	5·3	39·6	25·3	5·1	1·7	2·9	3·4
46·6	31·0	15·8	5·5	1·1	50·6	31·2	13·5	3·6	1·1	8·6	7·8	0·5	2·1	2·9	3·0	6·3	35·5	37·1	4·7	1·3	3·1	5·5
37·0	35·9	17·8	7·1	2·2	44·7	31·8	16·0	5·4	2·1	7·1	16·6	1·3	1·8	3·1	2·9	6·6	52·9	14·7	4·9	2·6	5·1	4·3
51·9	32·1	13·2	2·2	0·6	69·0	21·8	7·3	1·3	0·6	9·0	11·0	—	1·5	0·6	2·6	6·3	19·9	52·8	13·1	3·2	2·2	2·9
52·6	26·7	15·6	4·9	0·2	55·7	26·8	13·3	4·0	0·2	7·1	5·6	1·1	0·9	1·4	1·6	2·9	41·7	9·9	1·8	0·6	1·1	0·9
30·0	38·9	23·5	6·9	0·7	32·9	40·5	20·3	5·6	0·7	9·9	6·3	0·6	1·0	2·4	1·6	5·5	40·0	23·7	4·1	1·5	3·0	3·9
47·7	30·0	15·2	5·6	1.5	55·1	26·4	12·8	4·2	1·5	8·4	11·5	0·7	2·1	2·4	3·1	6·2	38·1	26·3	5·7	1·8	3·2	3·5
57·8	27·6	9·7	4·0	0·9	65·6	23·4	8·0	2·1	0·9	6·0	11·3	1·8	1·4	2·0	2·2	4·6	40·7	23·0	5·5	2·0	2·7	3·3
61·1	24·5	10·5	3·6	0·3	74·2	16·8	6·9	1·8	0·3	6·1	10·0	—	1·6	0·5	2·9	3·2	36·1	31·7	6·6	0·8	2·4	2·4
59·6	24·1	15·6	0·7	—	66·7	24·1	7·8	1·4	—	2·9	9·7	—	0·6	1·7	2·9	3·4	53·1	24·0	1·7	2·3	1·1	0·6
54·9	30·5	11·5	2·1	1·0	59·4	28·4	8·8	2·4	1·0	7·4	9·0	0·6	1·1	2·0	2·3	5·3	41·0	25·2	3·9	1·5	1·9	3·4
38·0	31·9	20·4	8·6	1·1	47·0	28·9	17·7	5·3	1·1	8·3	10·9	1·0	2·0	2·2	2·7	5·3	38·1	25·3	6·5	2·0	4·0	3·4
15·0	53·9	27·6	0·5	3·0	65·3	30·5	1·2	—	3·0	3·2	4·4	—	0·4	2·1	3·2	18·7	11·2	12·0	9·3	9·3	30·9	12·8
18·0	38·8	38·7	—	4·5	55·9	38·7	0·9	—	4·5	0·8	4·2	—	0·8	0·8	3·4	25·2	12·6	10·9	10·1	10·1	30·3	15·1
10.3	50·5	33·6	1·9	3·7	56·1	37·4	2·8	—	3·7	8·0	5·8	—	—	3·6	5·1	19·6	15·2	13·8	10·1	8·7	31·2	11·6
18·5	63·0	18·5	—	—	74·1	24·1	1·8	—	—	1·7	3·3	—	—	3·3	3·3	15·0	11·7	13·3	1·7	3·3	26·7	13·3
14·9	65·7	17·2	—	2·2	76·9	20·9	—	—	2·2	1·3	3·8	—	0·6	1·3	1·3	14·6	6·3	10·8	10·8	11·4	32·9	12·0
16·7	56·1	26·3	0·9	—	71·0	27·2	1·8	—	—	5·9	5·9	—	0·7	2·2	4·4	19·3	12·6	11·8	13·3	8·1	27·4	11·8
14·5	50·3	30·6	0·6	4·0	61·3	33·5	1·2	—	4·0	3·7	3·7	—	—	2·6	2·1	24·1	12·0	10·5	7·3	8·9	34·0	13·1
12·2	60·2	24·5	—	3·1	66·3	30·6	—	—	3·1	—	2·4	—	0·8	0·8	3·3	12·2	8·9	14·6	8·9	11·4	36·8	13·8
25·0	37·5	25·0	—	12·5	56·3	25·0	6·2	—	12·5	—	14·3	—	—	4·8	—	9·5	4·8	14·3	4·8	9·5	38·1	14·3
20·0	60·0	20·0	—	—	80·0	20·0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20·0	—	20·0	—	—	—	80·0	—
17·0	54·5	25·0	—	3·5	69·0	26·5	1·0	—	3·5	2·5	3·4	—	0·4	2·5	2·5	20·2	12·2	15·1	11·8	8·0	26·5	15·5
13·1	53·4	30·1	1·0	2·4	61·6	34·5	1·5	—	2·4	3·8	5·5	—	0·4	1·7	3·8	17·3	10·1	8·9	6·8	10·5	35·4	10·1

(2) See Erhebung über die Arbeitszeit in Bäckereien und Konditoreien, September 1892.

Statistics collected from the women employed as shop assistants in Berlin, apart from the Government inquiry, show that almost all are unmarried, and that 54 per cent. are between 18 and 25 years of age. Very few are drawn from the labouring classes; the majority are the daughters of tradesmen and subordinate officials, and more than a third have lost one or both parents. Very few have been taught any special trade, and so few are able to draw that the preparation of fashion plates and other departments of mantle-making and dressmaking, which are highly paid, are almost exclusively in the hands of men. Their earnings rise from 41 marks to 114 marks a month in the sixteenth or nineteenth year of service; after this period they begin to diminish. Forty per cent. of the saleswomen after from three to six months of apprenticeship can earn from 10 to 15 marks a month; book-keepers are, as a rule, rather better paid. Out of these wages 51 marks a month ought, according to Dr. Meyer, to go for board and lodging, and 10 marks for clothes, so that 60 marks a month, or more than many of the girls earn, would be required for their current expenditure. Their working hours are, as a rule, from 9½ to 10½, exclusive of the mid-day interval of from 1½ to 2 hours. In the autumn and up to Christmas a great deal of overtime is worked, and in some establishments, which close early, the mid-day interval is greatly curtailed. Women employed as shop assistants are much less securely placed than men, for only one-third of the women are entitled to the six weeks' notice before the end of the quarter which is given to men; 22 per cent. are liable to dismissal with only a month's notice, 34 per cent. with a fortnight's notice, 5 per cent. with eight days' notice, and 3 per cent. without any notice at all. The Government inquiry gave the percentage of men liable to dismissal at less than a quarter's notice at 20, and that of women at 45(2).

DIVISION III.—CERTAIN SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

A.—Co-operation, Profit-sharing, and Industrial Partnership.

1. *Co-operation.*

(a.) Introductory sketch.

Co-operation was defined by Huber, "the pioneer of the co-operative movement in Germany," as "the association of the isolated units constituting the working "classes in a common effort for the amelioration of "their condition." Whereas this definition emphasises the social and ethical aspects of the movement, its economic aspect is put forward more clearly in the German Law of May 1st, 1889. Here co-operative societies are defined as "Associations with an unrestricted membership which aim at increasing the "profits or diminishing the expenditure of their "members by conducting their business on a common "basis." These associations may be divided into distributive societies and productive societies. The first class includes all associations which ensure to their members the economic advantages of trade carried on on a large scale, and may be sub-divided into retail co-operative stores, wholesale stores for the purchase of raw material, loan associations, and "building associations. Productive co-operation, on the other hand, involves the actual conduct of an industry by the members in common, and so far has had but an inconsiderable development in Germany. Indeed the co-operative movement as a whole began much later in that country than in England or France, and in its first beginning it took a different form. England had made a start with distributive co-operation from the point of view of cheapening the necessaries of life, and France had begun with productive co-operation amongst labourers and small artisans, but the first attempts at co-operation in Germany arose from the desire on the part of the artisan class to relieve the distress due to factory competition, by obtaining the credit and the raw material necessary for their work at a more reasonable cost. In 1848 certain loan associations, or people's banks (*Darlehnskassenvereine*) were established, but as they lent money without interest, and were subsidised by philanthropic outsiders they soon came to be regarded by the artisans as mere charitable associations, and were held in small esteem. In 1849 Herr Schulze-Delitzsch, who for years was the life and soul of the co-operative movement in Germany, founded the first co-operative society for the purchase of raw material amongst thirteen cabinet makers in Delitzsch, his native town. A shoemakers' co-operative society soon followed, and the results of these two first attempts were so favourable that during the next few years a considerable number of such societies were formed in the neighbouring towns. In 1850 Herr Schulze founded the first of his loan associations (*Vorschussvereine*), which differed from the earlier banks in that the persons to whom loans could be granted must themselves be members of the association paying regular monthly contributions. They thus themselves indirectly furnished the security for the credit afforded them. After a time both the societies for procuring raw material and the loan associations were federated, and the security thus afforded by the unlimited liability of all the members of all the associations for the obligations of any one association rendered it easy to procure the necessary capital. Though the societies for procuring raw material form the necessary basis for productive co-operation, the highest development of the co-operative idea, their expansion was less rapid than that of the loan associations which had been founded later. Productive co-operation itself scarcely appears at all, and indeed, as has been already stated, it has at no time been able to show a very successful record in Germany. Herr Schulze himself was averse to premature effort in this direction, and held that success must be preceded by a long preliminary education in other forms of co-operation. Between 1860 and 1870 a movement was set on foot for the establishment of retail distributive societies (*Konsumvereine*), and the attention of the working classes was attracted to these stores by the quarrel which resulted between Schulze and Lassalle. The history of co-operation in Germany has since been a continuous progress. It has not yet been possible to establish a wholesale society, but the rapidly increasing number of distributive societies are strongly in favour of such a measure, and Dr. Crüger speaks of its early adoption as probable. The movement has spread from industry to agriculture. The necessity of economy in procuring the requisite stock and implements, if agriculture is to be pursued at a profit, is now generally recognised, and co-operative societies for the purchase of agricultural necessaries, co-operative dairies, co-operative workshops, and agricultural banks or loan associations, are exceedingly numerous. Co-operative societies for the settlement of estates in the Eastern Provinces are the latest development (*see* p. 70), and co-operation as applied to the actual working of the land is regarded by many authorities in Germany as likely to be productive of most important results (see *below*, p. 100). Much of the success of co-operation in Germany may be ascribed, according to Dr. Crüger, to the fact that at a very early period the individual societies were organised into larger associations, and thus enabled to profit by each other's experience and to afford each other necessary support. In 1859 a congress of members of loan associations was summoned by Herr Schulze to Weimar; here a central committee was appointed, with Herr Schulze at the head, which in 1864 developed into the General Association of German Co-operative Societies (*Allgemeiner Verband Deutscher Erwerbs und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften*), including all forms of co-operation within its limits. At the end of March 1890, this association included 1,012 credit associations (*Kreditvereine*), 262 distributive societies (*Konsumvereine*), and 56 other co-operative societies. The secretary of the association publishes a yearly report of the financial position of the societies, with a critical account of the progress of the various forms of co-operation. The association is subdivided into 33 minor associations, some for certain provinces or districts, others for particular trades. The directors of the smaller associations constitute the committee of the general association, whose duty is to advise the secretary in all important matters. The secretary is himself elected at the annual meeting of the association. The agricultural co-operative societies possess a similar organisation, founded with Herr Schulze's assistance in 1883, and known as the German Agricultural Co-operative Union (*Vereinigung der landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaften des Deutschen Reichs*). In 1889 it included 1,730 credit associations, 975 associations for procuring raw material, 931 co-operative dairies, and 101 other co-operative societies. The peasants' land banks founded by Dr. Raiffeisen (*see* p. 68), have an association of their own, and there are other smaller federations of co-operative societies.(1)

During its earlier stages the co-operative movement had to face a considerable amount of opposition from

(2.) Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892-3, pp. 210, 461, 513.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 308, Art.: "Erwerbs und Wirtschafts-genossenschaften," Crüger. "Sozialreform und Genossenschaftswesen," edited by von Broich, 1890, pp. 9-36.

the various governments. In some of the States the loan associations were required to have a concession, and this was often refused on the ground that their formation was unnecessary. The idea had been widely accepted that the societies were political in character, and that they were designed by the Liberal party for the furtherance of Liberal principles. It needed all the influence of Herr Schulze and his strenuous efforts to exclude politics from the sphere of their activity, to win even tolerance for the co-operators from the Clerical and Conservative parties. Professor Huber, himself a Conservative, complained bitter of the hostility displayed towards the movement by his party, and it was not until 1860, when the exigencies of the political situation rendered it expedient for the Clerical party to take up the cause of the workmen, that the formation of loan associations became part of the Catholic programme. These associations were at the same time founded in the Conservative interest and more or less openly manipulated for party purposes. Dr. Crüger states that loans were sometimes avowedly granted or withheld according to the political views of the applicant; but the attempts thus made to discredit Herr Schulze's societies met with small success. He himself adhered closely to the principle of self-help and disavowed any desire for State aid or any intention of giving a political colour to the movement. Indeed, the discouraging attitude of the co-operative societies towards the Commission appointed by the Government in 1865 to enquire into the best means of furthering co-operation was one of the main causes of Herr Schulze's quarrel with Lassalle. In 1867 a law was passed for Prussia regulating the constitution of co-operative societies, and in 1868 the North German Confederation passed a similar law. Both were superseded by the law of May 1st, 1889, which enacts that every co-operative society must be registered and must have a minimum membership of 17. The amount of the shares and the maximum number which may be held by one member must be fixed by the statutes of the society. Every member must deposit at least, one-tenth of the value of a share, but there is no other provision as to the initial capital of the society. The directors must be chosen from amongst the members, and are responsible for any losses occasioned by any lapse of duty on their part. The liability of the members may be either limited or unlimited. In legal matters the society is represented by its directors. The accounts must be audited at least once a year, and must be checked by an officer known as the revisor. Three months' notice must be given of intended withdrawal from the society and liability continues after withdrawal for a period of two years.(1)

(c.) Distributive co-operation.

The extent of distributive co-operation in Germany may be seen from the following statistics:—

TABLE N. 1.

YEAR.	Number of Societies.	Societies sending in Returns.	Membership.	Shares in 1,000 marks.	Reserve Fund in 1,000 marks.	Funds derived from other sources in 1,000 marks.	Business done in 1,000 marks.		Nett profit in 1,000 marks.	Money applied to educational purposes in marks.
							By Societies in their own stores.	By Contractors.		
1865	157	34	6,647	67	8	50	860	65	28	—
1870	354	111	45,761	319	151	546	8,693	315	451	—
1875	618	179	98,056	2,912	503	2,430	19,580	3,125	1·258	—
1880	645	195	94,366	3,177	1,036	2,88 5	27,090	3,278	2,048	25.701
1885	682	162	120,150	3,319	1,736	2,892	31,015	4,122	3.027	32,544
1890-1	984	263	215,420	4,301	2,237	2,691	48,716	8,328	5,078	21,909
1891-2	1,122	302	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1892-3	1,283	344	243,529	4,804	2,473	5,520	58,246	8,954	5,876	67,782

Note.—These statistics, as well as those for the other forms of co-operation, are admittedly imperfect, owing to the comparatively small number of societies sending in returns.

The members of 244 out of the 263 societies existing in 1892, included 74,088 factory operatives, 5,951 shop assistants, 13,529 subordinate officials, and 25,815 artisans. It is clear, therefore, that the benefits of the societies are for the most part enjoyed by the classes for which they were originally intended, though a contrary state of things has often been alleged to exist.(1)

(d.) Productive co-operation.

With the exception of certain forms of co-operative agriculture (*see* below) productive co-operation in Germany is rather a matter of the future than of the past. An attempt in that direction was made by Lassalle with the help of Prince Bismarck and supported by funds out of the private income of the Crown, but it did not succeed, and the growing influence of the Marxist party forced "productive co-operation based on State credit" out of the Social Democratic programme. It has, however, always remained one of the objects of the trade unions (*Gewerkvereine*), though the Trades Union Congress at Mannheim in 1892 resolved that the unions must confine themselves to moral support of co-operative ventures. The Co-operative Congress held the same year at Munich urged upon its members the founding of productive associations, but only where the prospective associates possessed the requisite knowledge of business and previous education in co-operative principles. The following statistics with regard to the extent of productive co-operation in Germany are given in the annual report of the secretary to the General Association of German Co-operative Societies, but they are avowedly imperfect, owing to the failure of many societies to send in returns.

TABLE N. 2.

Year.	Number of Societies.	Societies sending in Returns.	Membership.	Assets drawn from the Business.	Reserve Fund.	Funds from External Sources.	Business done.	Nett Profits.
				M.	M.	M.	M.	M.
1865	26	1	14	3,546	—	3,090	27,492	2,178
1870	29	7	160	77,988	3,285	50,274	226,554	26,463
1875	199	14	689	233,571	16,109	110,663	733,092	59,192
1880	131	10	693	199,052	83,932	701,470	666,355	57,478
1885	148	7	529	156,017	95,783	300,478	340,692	33,337
1890	151	12	1,808	226,553	82,389	353,531	884,124	41,058

Sixteen of the 151 societies in 1890 were amongst carpenters, 12 amongst textile workers, 11 amongst printers and lithographers, 8 amongst tailors, 4 amongst shoemakers, 6 amongst cigar-makers, 9 amongst builders' labourers, 3 amongst watchmakers, 3 amongst potters, 3 amongst gilders, 2 amongst mechanical engineers, and 3 amongst brush and comb makers. Many of the societies scarcely deserved the name of co-operative, since the method of dividing the profits fell far below the true standard of productive co-operation. Two associations of printers, one at Breslau and one at Hanover, are among the most successful. There are a fair number of co-operative bakeries in connexion with distributive stores.(2)

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 838. Art: "Konsumvereine," Crüger. "Sozialreform und Genossenschaftswesen" edited by von Broich, 1890, p. 96. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892-3, p. 608, Labour Gazette, July 1893.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. III., p. 308. Art: "Erwerbs und Wirtchaftsgenossenschaften," Crüger. "Rapport sur les Sociétés Co-opératives," 1892.

(2) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. V., p. 285. Art.: "Produktivgenossenschaften," Crüger. "Sozial reform und Genossenschaftswesen," edited by von Broich, 1890, pp. 297-305.

(e.) Credit and loan associations. (i.) Objects and constitution.

There are two main kinds of credit and loan associations in Germany of a co-operative character; those already described, as founded by Herr Schulze-Delitzsch for all classes of workmen, both industrial and agricultural, and those founded by Dr. Raiffeisen for agriculturists only. The Schulze-Delitzsch banks date from 1850, those of Raiffeisen from almost the same period. In both the main object is to found an association which grants credit to persons who would otherwise scarcely be able to procure it, except at an exorbitant rate on the security of funds composed of small regular contributions made by all the members. Before the passing of the law of 1889 loans were sometimes made to non-members, but the law forbade this extension of the business of the associations on the ground that it destroyed their co-operative character. Since 1889 also the liability of the members has been no longer universally unlimited; but according to Dr. Crüger experience has shown that associations with limited liability have not always proved able to procure the necessary capital. On the whole he regards it as probable that, in the future, loan associations, which do not possess any very large capital, will be organised on the basis of unlimited liability, unless local circumstances determine them to adopt the contrary principle. Though agreeing in their main object, the Schulze-Delitzsch and Raiffeisen banks differ considerably in constitution and method of procedure. The first associations admit members of every class or profession and regard this as a safeguard against a run upon the bank, since it is improbable that a demand for money will occur in every industry at once. The Raiffeisen banks, on the other hand, confine their advantages to agriculture, and do not insist on all the members acquiring shares by paying regular contributions. This they regard as an impossibility for persons engaged in agricultural pursuits, although the large number of agriculturists who belong to the Schultze-Delitzsch associations find the means to make their payments. The directors of the Schultze-Delitzsch banks are paid for their services, those of the Raiffeisen banks are merely honorary officials. The credit given by the first is restricted to a short period, as a rule three months, with the possibility of an extension; that given by the second is usually for a term of from one to ten years or more, but is subject to withdrawal at four weeks' notice. This is regarded by many authorities as a weak point in the Raiffeisen system, for such a sudden demand for the repayment of a loan would, it is urged, be the ruin of any agriculturist. On the other hand the advocates of the Raiffeisen system argue that short credit is comparatively useless in agriculture, and yet that it is necessary to maintain some hold over the money lent. Further, the Schultze-Delitzsch banks, by exacting from 8 per cent. to 12 per cent. interest on loans, pay high dividends, with a view to encouraging thrift, whilst the rules of the Raiffeisen banks expressly exclude any payment of the kind. Nevertheless, the advocates of the Raiffeisen system affirm, that whilst the Schultze-Delitzsch are the more purely commercial, the Raiffeisen banks are the more distinctly ethical in tendency. They profess to "aim "at improving both the material and moral condition "of their members," and it is to this end that they have limited membership to the one pursuit of agriculture, and also restricted the area within which any one bank may exercise its activity. The members must as far as possible be persons living under the same conditions, animated by a common spirit, and capable of a fellow-feeling with each other's necessities. Each association, therefore, is to be for a district with an average population of 1,500. The savings of non-members will be received, and a fixed rate of interest paid to such depositors. At first Dr. Raiffeisen repudiated the share system, but the difficulty of carrying on the associations on any other basis, as well as the judicial interpretation of the law with regard to co-operative societies, convinced him of its necessity. Every member must now take a share, payable in instalments, but no member may possess more than one share, and must only receive the same rate of interest as is exacted from the debtors. No other privilege is allowed to members except the privilege of borrowing; surplus money is added to the reserve instead of forming a dividend fund, as in the Schulze-Delitzsch banks. Members must borrow only for a specific purpose, and as they are under the eyes of their colleagues, if the money is misapplied, it is promptly called in. Each association is controlled by a manager, and these managers are subordinate to the Administrative Council, whilst the general meeting of members is the supreme authority and appoints both manager and Administrative Council. Every four years the books must be audited by an accountant, who must not be an official of the association, and must be bound over in a certain sum; he is the only person who receives any salary. The surplus funds of the association are to be employed in the furtherance of distributive co-operation in connexion with agriculture. A connexion between the various associations is maintained by means of the Central Agricultural Bank for Germany founded in 1874, and uniting three earlier institutions. The shareholders in this bank are the various district loan associations, and the interest is paid on the shares at the rate of 10 per cent. The number of shares for each association is fixed at five. The "General Secretary's Union of German Agricultural Co-operative Societies" ("*Generalanwaltschafts Verband Ländlicher Genossenschaften für Deutschland*"), at Neuwied, presided over by Dr. Raiffeisen himself until his death in 1888, and now directed by his son, is intended to extend the system by founding new banks, and supporting those already in existence. Its most important duty consists in the general supervision of the solvency of the associations. The total number of associations under its supervision in 1889 was 503. The firm of Raiffeisen and Co. was finally established as a means of supplementing the funds of the associations and rendering them independent of the subsidies hitherto granted by the Prussian Ministry of Agriculture and the Provincial Administration of Düsseldorf. The firm conducts the printing required for the associations and brings out a journal known as the "Co-operative News" (*Genossenschaftsblatt*); it also manages a Savings Bank and Life Insurance Association. The banks in Baden, Hesse, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Westphalia, Hanover, Silesia, and East Prussia have associations of their own. (1)

(ii.) Hist and statistics.

The following table gives the number of credit and loan associations of every kind, together with details as to membership, funds and activity of the Schulze-Delitzsch banks. The figures given in the column "Total Number" include all associations; those in other columns only the Schulze-Delitzsch associations:—

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. II., p. 906. Art.: "Darlehnskassenvereine," Marchet. Vol. IV., p. 830. Art.: "Kredit-genossenschaften," Crüger.

TABLE N 3.

Year.	Total Number.	Associations sending in Returns.	Membership.	Funds derived from Contributions of Members, in 1,000 marks.	Reserve Fund, in 1,000 marks.	Funds from other sources, in 1,000 marks.	Advances, including renewals, in 1,000 marks.	Expenditure for Educational Purposes, in marks.
1860 - -	300	133	31,603	1,386	201	7,177	25,435	—
1865 - -	839	498	169,595	13,329	1,229	52,970	202,710	—
1870 - -	1,272	740	314,656	40,347	3,643	137,997	622,855	—
1875 - -	1,726	815	418,251	83,542	8,428	330,165	1,495,648	—
1880 - -	1,895	906	460,656	102,029	16,398	364,450	1,447,526	39,881
1885 - -	2,118	896	458,080	107,841	21,582	401,801	1,533,841	34,674
1890 - -	3,910	1,072	518,003	117,080	28,473	453,826	1,641,574	40,588
1891–2 -	4,401	1,076	—	—	—	—	1,561,610	—
1892–3 -	4,791	1,075	512,509	116,304	31,121	434,248	1,539,034	47,660

On May 1st, 1891, 3,746, or about 95·8 per cent. of the whole number of credit and loan associations were based on the principle of unlimited liability; in 148 the liability was limited; whilst in 18, founded by Herr von Broich, there was an unlimited liability to be called upon to make subsidiary payments. The number of bankruptcies among loan associations between 1876 and 1886 was only 36.

With regard to the Raiffeisen banks, Dr. Crüger reports that in 1890 364 of these associations, with 33,166 members, had assets worth 17,184,362 marks, and liabilities amounting to 17,011,439. The net profits were 172,590 marks and the reserve fund about 822,000 marks. In 1891 the 735 banks belonging to the Neuwied association, with 70,000 members, did business to the extent of 30,000,000 marks. In 1892-3 the assets of 635 banks amounted to 27,182,348 marks, and their liabilities to 27,122,036 marks. Banks on the Raiffeisen system are most numerous in the Rhine Provinces, Westphalia, Baden, Würtemberg, Franconia, Silesia, and the Grand Duchy of Hesse. Those in Baden and Hesse differ somewhat from the others in paying interest on the shares and in remunerating the officials. In Baden, Hesse, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Westphalia there are federations of these banks, distinct from the Neuwied Association. The Baden banks in 1888 numbered 77, with 9,247 members. The business done in 1887 amounted to 9,300,000 marks and the reserve fund to 133,632 marks. The Hesse banks in 1889 numbered 238, 99 of which belonged to the association for the Duchy. In 1888 this association included 86 banks, with a membership of 8,072, assets worth 9,361,655 marks, and liabilities amounting to 9,312,301 marks. The nett profit for the year was 49,354 marks. In June 1890 the Bavarian banks numbered 105; in 1888 they were 71, with a membership of 4,119. The Würtemberg Association numbered 276 banks in 1890, with a membership of 19,000; that of Westphalia 190 banks, with 20,239 members. (1)

(f.) Building societies.

Building societies as they are understood in England do not exist in Germany, but certain associations have been formed with the primary object of improving the dwellings of the working classes, and gradually putting the members in a position to purchase their own houses. In other cases the societies are content to let the houses which they have built, or even to buy existing houses and let them on moderate terms. The aim of all these associations, however, is rather to supply better houses than to afford a means of investing the savings of the workmen. The great difficulty in their way was the large amount of capital required for building operations. To meet this difficulty Herr Schulze-Delitzsch proposed in 1871 that in each case two societies should be established, a joint stock company to undertake the building and a co-operative association of customers, whose joint credit should enable them to become by degrees owners of the houses built by the company. The movement, however, has not succeeded widely, as is shown by the following statistics of the number of societies:—

Year.	Societies.	Year.	Societies.
1869	2	1879	46
1870	3	1880	36
1871	17	1881	34
1872	30	1882	35
1873	41	1883	33
1874	48	1884	33
1875	52	1885	33
1876	54	1886	35
1877	50	1887	35
1878	49	1888	28

During this period 46 societies have gone into liquidation, 10 in 1879, and two have become bankrupt. The difference between 1887 and 1888 is explained by the fact that certain societies appear in the returns for 1887 which were already defunct, and that this error was rectified in 1888. The societies are of two kinds, those which build houses for well-to-do officials, and those which limit their activity to workmen's dwellings. The first class included three societies at Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, and Gotha, the results of which appear in the following table:—

TABLE N. 4.

Name of Society.	Year of Establishment.	Number of Years in existence.	Membership.	Houses built.	Average price of Houses.	Payments on Account.	Annuities.	Societies liquidated.
1. Karlsruhe Building Society.	1870	15	12	12	26,000	10 per cent.	10 per cent.	?
2. Stuttgart Building Society.	1876	15	7	7	25,000	50 „	?	1883
3. Gotha Building Society	1873	20	14	14	18,000	5 „	The rest in quarterly instalments.	—

The societies for building workmen's houses show the following results:—

TABLE N. 5.

Year.	Number of Societies.	Societies sending in Returns.	Members.	Houses built.	Price of Building.	Share Capital.	Reserve Fund.	Capital derived from other Sources.
					M.	M.	M.	M.
1869	2	1	93	—	2,997	1,830	—	6,950
1872	30	6	1,235	21	438,845	181,172	18,210 (5)	308,430 (5)
1874	48	18	1,774	34	663,947	458,930	41,529	1,724,962
1877	50	5	884	29	143,010	167,140	39,457	958,222
1881	34	2	84 (1)	8	15,399	26,296 (1)	23,746 (1)	296,848 (1)
1884	33	2	73 (1)	8	15,699	32,629 (1)	18,472 (1)	291,573 (1)
1888	28	5	1,589	20	191,438	202,224 (4)	31,503 (4)	498,047

Note.—The small figures enclosed in brackets indicate the number of reports of societies from which the figures are taken.

The total result of the movement, therefore, is insignificant, especially as it cannot be assumed that the societies which make no returns have been active in building. On the contrary, many of them are little but a name; some have only one or two houses, and others merely let old houses which they have bought. There have been no conspicuous successes except, perhaps, the Flensburg Building Society, founded in 1877, with 180 members, and in 1888 numbering 1,105 members, and possessing assets amounting to 147,000 marks, a reserve fund of 8,400 marks, and 31 houses. The members of this society are bound for ten years, and must pay weekly contributions of 40 pf. (about 5d). The payments for a house are spread over a period of 20 years, and the houses cost from 4,000 to 7,000 marks. At the end of ten years a member, who does not wish to acquire a house, can draw out the amount he has deposited with interest, but very few members availed themselves

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. II., p. 906. Art., "Darlehnskassenvereine," Marchet, vol. IV., p. 880. Art., "Kreditgenossenschaften," Crüger. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. ii., 1892-3, p. 608, Labour Gazette, July 1893.

of this privilege in 1888, The Berlin Building Society has also achieved good results. It started in 1886 with 28 members, but in January 1889 it had already 261 and in 1890 as many as 350. In 1889 16 houses were built, and in 1890 plans were made for 40. The price of the houses is from 6,000 to 8,000 marks, and the rent is fixed at six per cent. of the selling price. The members contribute 40 pf. a week, and the shares are fixed at 200 marks. (1)

(7.) Co-operation in agriculture.

In addition to the Raiffeisen banks already described co-operation has in recent years been utilised in agriculture in a variety of ways. The establishment in 1884 of the German Agricultural Co-operative Union (*Vereinigung der deutschen landwirtschaftlichen Genossenchaften*) gave an impetus to the movement, and since then the number of co-operative societies has greatly increased. The report of the secretary for 1891 enumerates 4,374 societies, or 749 more than in the preceding year. These included 2,647 loan associations, 708 associations for the purchase of raw material, 869 co-operative dairies, and 150 other societies. The associations for the purchase of raw material were established with a view to supplying farmers with seeds, fodder, manure, and machinery at wholesale prices. A central association in Berlin was established in 1890 for the purchase of agricultural produce on a large scale. In Saxony there is a society for the purchase of machinery which is afterwards let out for the use of members. The amount of business done by this society in 1889 amounted to 6,077 marks 30 pf., and in 1891 to as much as 481,198 marks. There are also a number of societies for selling horses, cattle, milk, cheese, fruit, vegetables, and all kinds of produce, which are reported to be succeeding. Productive co-operation in agriculture is mainly represented by co-operative dairies. There are also a few co-operative breweries in Brandenburg and Pomerania; starch factories exist to the number of ten, and sugar refineries to the number of 26. A factory for the repair of machinery was established at Jarmen, near Greisswald, in 1890 on co-operative principles, but no detailed account is available of its results. The latest experiments in co-operative agriculture have been made in connection with the schemes for inland colonisation described below (*see* p. 100.) Here an association of landowners purchase an estate and assign to each a portion for his individual cultivation. The unassigned land is cultivated in common. When the shares are fully paid up, the holders become proprietors of the land allotted to them. The total extent of the co-operative movement in Germany at the present time is illustrated by the subjoined table, which is taken from the Report of the Secretary of the General Association of German Co-operative Societies for 1893 (1).

TABLE N. 6.

Co-operative Societies, Kinds of.	In existence on May 31, 1891.	In existence on May 31, 1892.	In existence on May 31, 1893.	Constitution as regards Liability of Members.							
				Unlimited Liability.		Limited Liability.		Unlimited calls for subsidiary payments.		Not Registered.	
				May 31, 1892.	May 31, 1893.	May 31, 1892.	May 31, 1893.	May 31, 1892.	May 31, 1893.	May 31, 1892.	May 31, 1893.
Credit and loan associations	3,910	4,401	4,791	4,019	4,406	210	241	22	22	150	122
Distributive societies	984	1,122	1,283	506	485	469	679	5	6	142	113
Societies for supplying the raw material to manufacturers	2,664	110	64	52	45	4	8	—	—	54	11
Societies for supplying the raw material to agriculturists		1,020	1,008	810	806	72	104	1	1	137	97
Retail industrial associations		59	48	28	28	8	11	1	1	22	8
Retail agricultural associations		7	4	3	3	—	—	—	—	4	1
Industrial productive societies		151	128	80	65	46	55	—	2	25	6
Agricultural productive societies		1,087	1,196	879	136	121	176	25	39	62	45
Societies for carrying on work (*Werkgenossenschaften*)		13	14	11	12	1	1	1	1	—	—
Societies for co-operative agriculture		299	208	46	46	16	17	—	—	237	145
Building societies	50	55	77	17	16	36	60	—	—	2	1

2. *Profit-sharing and Industrial Partnership.*

Profit-sharing and industrial partnership have much in common with productive co-operation, and their history in Germany shows an almost equally small degree of success. Both require a high standard of intelligence on the part of the workmen, and it appears that this standard is seldom attained. According to statistics collected in 1886 and brought up to date in 1891 there are only 18 firms in Germany, as against 73 in Great Britain and Ireland and 84 in France, which have given their workmen a share in the profits of their business. In no case have the workmen any share in the management of the business; a certain percentage of the profits are merely distributed amongst them, or expended by the employer upon benefit funds and other institutions for their welfare. There is, therefore, no real industrial partnership in Germany at all; nothing but various methods of giving the workmen an interest, either direct or indirect, in the success of the business. The first to introduce the system were the firm of Steinheil, Dieterlen, & Co., cotton spinners, of Rothau, in Alsace. In 1847 they decided to hand over one-tenth of their profits to their workmen by giving this sum to the benevolent funds in connection with the establishment, on the condition that these funds were to bear one-tenth of any losses sustained in less fortunate years. In 1868 they reduced this contribution to 7 per cent. but at the same time divided 5 per cent. of the profits amongst the men directly. From 1868 to 1872 the cotton industry in Alsace suffered so severely that the workmen were quite unable to support their share of the losses, and in 1872 the system of loss-sharing was abandoned. The establishment was then converted into a joint-stock company and it was arranged that the shareholders were to receive 5 per cent. interest, and each of the directors a minimum sum of 200*l*. Six-sevenths of the remaining profits were to go to the shareholders in the form of a dividend and to form a reserve fund, whilst the remaining seventh, or 10 per cent. of the nett profits, was to be paid to the workmen. Three-fifths of the workmen's share was to go to the benevolent institutions and two-fifths to the men themselves. Between 1875 and 1884 the total average share of the employed was 330*l*. a year. As the number of hands employed is about 600, the average amount paid to each man direct would be about 4*s*. 5*d*. a year. A second cotton mill in Alsace, the bleaching and dyeing establishment of Schaeffer, Lalance, & Co., in Pfastadt, introduced a system of profit-sharing in 1874 for the foremen and the better class of workmen. The firm fixes the amount to be distributed each year and pays out one-third in cash, one-third is credited at 5 per cent. interest, and the remaining third also invested at 5 per cent. and paid out together with the first third of the succeeding year's share. In 1874 the number of workmen receiving a share was 112, in 1883 it was 349. Wages rose during the same period from 4,550*l*. to 14,000*l*. and the workmen's share of the profits from 455*l*. to 840*l*. During the first ten years 6,627*l*. were distributed in this way, and the firm writes, "We have attained the "object of making our staff of workmen more perma-"nent . . . The moral effect of the arrangement "is excellent; nobody remains away from work with-"out a valid excuse, and in general we have very little

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. II., p. 284. Art. "Baugenossenschaften," Crüger.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV. p. 944. Art. "Landwirtschaftliches Genossenschaftswesen," von Mendel Steinfels, vol. V., p. 285. Art. Produktiv-genossenschaften," Crüger. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. ii., 1892-3, p. 608. Labour Gazette, July 1893.

"cause for complaint." Another successful instance of profit-sharing is reported from the Ilsede Ironworks, at Gross-Ilsede, in Hanover. The system was introduced in 1869 for the depositors in the factory savings' bank. When the profits of the firm exceed 5 per cent. a corresponding addition is made to the 5 per cent. interest on deposits up to a maximum of 20 per cent. This maximum was reached in the years 1873–4 and 1880–3. In the last year the total number of depositors was 566 and the total savings 25,850*l*. There is also a workmen's bank in connection with the factory supported by contributions equal to 6 per cent. of the wages, payable half by the men and half by the firm. In 1883 this bank possessed a capital of 15,000*l*. "The "pasteboard and lithographic works of George Adler, "in Buchholz (Saxony), employing about 280 men and "30 women, also has a system of profit-sharing. The "workmen's share in the profits is fixed by the firm "for each year according to the result of the year's "business. Each man's share is deposited in the "municipal savings' bank and cannot be withdrawn "till the man leaves the service of the firm." No men are admitted to the benefits of the system until they have worked a year in the establishment, whilst for women the term of probation is fixed at three years. The employer states that the system has had a good effect upon the work and character of the men.

Four instances are mentioned by Dr. Frommer of profit-sharing in agriculture; but in two cases the system appears to have been abandoned. On the estates of Herr Thunen, at Tellow, in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, and Her Neumann, at Posegnick, in East Prussia, it was introduced in 1847 and 1854 respectively, and remains in force. In the first case the labourers receive half of any surplus remaining after a certain definite sum has been taken from the receipts for the employer's profits. The labourers' share is deposited in a savings' bank, but the interest on it is paid directly to the men themselves. In the second case the men receive 8 per cent. of the nett profits, one-third directly and two-thirds in the form of an account to their credit in a savings bank. Besides the 18 firms mentioned two fresh instances are reported by the factory inspector for Hanover in 1890, one at a large wool-combing factory at Blumenthal, and the other in some saw-mills at Nienburg (1).

B. Workmen's Insurance.

1. *Insurance Funds prior to* 1883.

(*a.*) Guild benefit funds.

The earliest form of workmen's insurance in Germany is to be found in the provision made by the mediæval guilds for the support of members incapacitated by any cause from supporting themselves. Both the guilds of handicraftsmen and the associations of journeymen provided for the care of the sick, the poorer guilds by subscribing to the hospitals attached to the religious houses and the richer guilds by building and maintaining hospitals of their own. All these societies provided for the burial of the dead, and bestowed a sum of money upon the survivors for the payment of necessary expenses. The widow of a master craftsman remained in possession of his business, and was entitled to choose two of the most efficient of the journeymen to conduct her affairs. In spite of the loss of their independence, the guilds maintained their funds for the support of members in distress, subject to certain modifications introduced by the Universal Code for the Prussian States for the sake of preventing abuses. A journeyman falling ill, whether at work or on his travels, was entitled to receive medical care at the expense of the journeymen's fund, formed by the compulsory contributions of the journeymen employed at the given place. If this did not suffice the trade fund, or the property of the guild, was called into requisition, and failing this, the local poor fund, or, in the last resort, the city treasury. Associations of journeymen were at this period forbidden by law (*see* p. 25); but the journeymen might, if they wished it, elect a so-called "Elder" (*Altgeselle*), and put him in charge of a fund formed by themselves for the relief of distressed journeymen. This fund was subject to the control of the guild. These benefit funds did nothing to assist factory workers; their advantages were confined to artisans, and the rise of the factory system made it necessary to supplement the action of the guilds (2).

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 49. Art., "Gewinnbeteiligung," Wirminghaus. *Gilman und Katscher*, "Die Teilung des Geschäftsgewinns," 1891. Frommer, "Die Gewinnbeteiligung," 1886. F. O. Report, Misc., Series, No. 212, 1891. Amtliche-Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-berichten der Fabrik-Aufsichtsbeamten, 1890, p. 244.

(2) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, vol. I., p. 519. Art., "Arbeiterversicherung," (Deutschland), Honigmann.

(*b.*) Early legislation for special industries.

In certain industries provision had already been made for the needs of the workmen; the miners had their friendly societies, and the interests of seamen, domestic servants, and agricultural labourers were the subject of legal regulation. Any seaman falling ill before entering upon a voyage for which he was engaged was entitled to a fourth part of his hire or a month's pay; if he fell ill on the voyage, all expenses must be paid by his employer. If he died, his heirs were entitled to a quarter, half, or the whole of the hire; or pay for one, two, or four months according to whether the death occurred before sailing, on the voyage out, or on the voyage back. Domestic servants contracting any disease through their work must be cared for by their employer until they were again able to earn their bread; in other cases they received temporary care, but their employers were entitled to deduct the expense from their wages. Agricultural labourers bonded to an estate and the orphan children of such labourers must be supported by the landowner. The miners' friendly societies (*Bruderladen* or *Knappschaften*) were called into existence very early by the necessity of some provision against the dangers of that industry. Associations for mutual aid supported by regular contributions from the miners, certain sums arising from a tax upon the raw produce, and other contributions on the part of the mine-owners arose at a very early period; indeed, there is already mention of them at the end of the thirteenth century. The Prussian Code of 1794 laid down that all mining companies should reserve two free shares for the benefit of the sick and poor funds; sick miners were to receive their wages for the first four to eight weeks of their sickness; after this period they must be supported by the friendly society's fund, which must also pay all medical or funeral expenses. The chief duty of the friendly society consisted, however, in the support of the permanently disabled, and of the widows and orphans of deceased members. Other allowances were sometimes made in exceptional cases. These societies, at first voluntary, were made compulsory by a Prussian law of 1854 for all the mines, blast furnaces, smelting works, and salt works belonging to the Prussian State. The funds were administered at first by the mining officials; afterwards the miners themselves were admitted to a share in their administration, but the officials still possessed a right of control. The Prussian Mining Law of 1865 restricted the power of the officials and gave greater powers of self-government to the societies. It also distinguished between fully qualified and partially qualified members, the fully qualified being those who have belonged to the society for a certain period, have not exceeded a certain age, and have not committed any criminal act, or contracted any disease likely to induce premature infirmity. These members are entitled to free medical aid in case of sickness, a sick allowance, a funeral allowance, a life-long pension if invalided through no obvious fault of their own, an allowance to the widow until her death, unless she marries again, and an allowance for the education of children up to fourteen years of age. Workmen and employers must contribute regularly to the fund, and the contributions of the employers must be at least half those of the workmen. These provisions, as will appear hereafter, have been modified and elaborated in detail by subsequent Imperial legislation. At the beginning of 1873 the number of miners' societies was 91, including 2,820 mines. The total membership was about 235,000, more than half of which was drawn from the mines of Silesia, Westphalia, the Rhine provinces, and the Saarbrück district. The total income of the societies was over 8,000,000 marks, and the untaxed capital over 15,000,000 marks (1).

(*c.*) Other benefit funds. (i.) Factory and artisans' funds in Prussia.

The tendency of Prussian legislation in the middle of the present century was, on the whole, towards the removal of legislative restrictions. Freedom of trade, freedom of migration, and freedom of combination would appear consistent with a voluntary system of insurance, but, except in a very few German States, friendly societies and insurance funds were never completely freed from State control. In Prussia the complete liability of masters for their servants was removed, and the abolition of compulsory guilds brought with it the abolition of the obligation formerly resting upon non-guild members to provide for sick workmen. The consequent dissolution of many of the

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol I., p. 519. Art., "Arbeiterversicherung" (Deutschland), Honigmann, vol. IV., Art., "Knappschaftskassen," Emminghaus. Rosin, "Das Recht der Arbeiterversicherung," 1893, pp. 1–9. Tolle, "Die Lage der Berg und Hütten Arbeiter im Oberharze, 1892.

guilds, and the breaking-up of the journeymen's benefit funds led to such an immense increase in the burden imposed upon the communes for the support of the poor that the Industrial Code of 1845 empowered the communes to make byelaws compelling all workmen to subscribe to provident insurance funds. An Order in Council of 1849 gave the communes the additional right of calling upon the employers to organise such funds and to support them by contributing a sum equal to half that contributed by the workmen; the employers might also make advance payments into the fund on behalf of the workmen, and deduct the sum from their wages at the next pay day. These measures were to be adopted in the case of factory owners and factory hands as well as in that of artisans and their employers. A further law of 1854 declared the principle of local compulsion to be applicable to the formation of provident funds and friendly societies. It gave such societies the right of legal personality, and declared that the claims of persons entitled to benefits were not transferable. Half the expenses of administration might be borne by the communes. The previous regulations had been received with little intelligence and much indifference by many of the local authorities, and had encountered stubborn resistance on the part of the manufacturers. In spite of the publication by the Minister of Commerce, Industry, and Public Works of numerous instructions, explanations, and model regulations, the communes refused to see the advantages which they would derive from a diminution of the number of persons likely to become a State charge. Up to the end of 1853 only 226 communes had submitted the statutes of provident funds for approval, and only 58 of these statutes made any provision for contributions on the part of the employer. After the passing of the Law of 1854 the movement advanced more rapidly. By the end of 1868 there were 3,724 funds in the old provinces of Prussia, including 2,355 for artisans, with 282,925 members and a capital of 720,543 marks; 1,257 for factory workers, with 315,311 members, and a capital of 4,494,312 marks, and 112 for journeymen and factory workers, combined with 29,431 members and a capital of 146,115 marks. In the new provinces there were 974 funds, with 60,345 members, and a capital of 510,387 marks. In Schleswig Holstein the mutual aid societies, which had originated in the days of the guilds, were many of them still in existence; Hanover had established insurance funds, supported by workmen alone, by a law of 1848, and in the Grand Duchy of Hesse, compulsory funds for artisans had been established as early as 1816. There was great variety amongst these different funds with regard to their statutes and the amount contributed to their support by the employers. In 1868 the employers in the new provinces only contributed five per cent. of the total sum required, whilst in the old provinces their contribution to the artisans' funds amounted to seven per cent., and to the factory funds to 35 per cent. of the whole. The statistics taken in 1874 show an increase throughout the old provinces of 237 in the number of funds, 87,210 in the number of members, and 6,000,000 marks in the capital, whilst in the new provinces the funds had decreased by 58, but the members had increased by 20,061, and the capital by 450,000 marks. The artisans' funds were sometimes confined to one industry and at other times included members of different industries; the factory funds were sometimes for a single establishment, or for the different establishments belonging to one employer, and at other times included establishments belonging to various employers. Women were admitted to membership. In some cases sick and burial funds were kept distinct, in others the two were combined, and in a few cases pension funds and allowances to widows and children were added after the example of the miners' societies. The members' contributions in the case of the artisans' and journeymen's funds were, as a rule, the same for all; in the factory funds they were often graduated according to age, sex, family standing, and average wages. The extent and duration of the benefits given varied greatly in the case of different funds. The administration, the share given to the employers, the expenses of management, and the financial position of the funds also admitted of great variety; in some cases there was a large reserve fund, in others scarcely any capital at all.(1)

(ii.) Factory and artisans' funds in other German States.

The majority of the other German States found that, as in Prussia, the surviving guild and journeymen's funds, after the removal of the old limitations on industry, required to be supplemented by some system of compulsory subscription to provident and insurance funds, though the compulsory formation of these funds was only undertaken in a few instances, as, for example in Oldenburg. A Saxon law of 1862, amended in 1868, obliged journeymen and factory workers to contribute to a sick and burial fund which must fulfil certain conditions as to security. Employers were empowered to deduct the contributions due from the workmen from their wages; where funds did not exist the authorities might constitute them, and include all workmen who did not already subscribe to a voluntary fund. Similar laws existed in Thüringia, Brunswick, and other States; but there is no information as to the extent to which they were observed. In Mecklenburg, journeymen and apprentices were obliged either to subscribe to the fund formerly belonging to their trade, or to some other voluntary fund controlled by the communal authorities, whilst the Hamburg Industrial Code of 1864 provided that every "workman employed in trade" (*Geschäftsarbeiter*) must contribute to a fund. The employer is made responsible for obedience to the law on the part of the employed, and must provide all necessaries for sick workmen, and pay the funeral expenses of those who die, if they are either non-contributors to a fund or are in arrears with their payments. In the South German States the care of sick workmen devolved upon the poor law administrators; but they in return were entitled to levy a charge upon those who availed themselves of this provision. The employers might advance these payments on behalf of the workmen, but were not obliged to make any contribution on their own account. Both in Bavaria and in Würtemberg, however, large employers were required to form special funds for the insurance of workmen in their factories, and to contribute a proportion of the necessary capital.(1)

(iii.) Special funds for railway servants.

As early as 1848 special funds were formed for railway servants on the Prussian railways. The movement originated partly with the men themselves, aided by the directors and authorities. In 1848 and the following year provident societies were formed amongst the men employed in the Berlin workshops as well as amongst the permanent employés at certain stations. A Cabinet Order of August 31st, 1859, established funds for the employés on the State railways, and in the subsidiary workshops and factories, which furnished aid in sickness, funeral allowances, pensions for permanent invalids, and allowances for widows and orphans. Two-thirds of the sum required were contributed by the employés, and the remaining third by the railway fund. In some cases the workmen had already established funds of their own and resisted the attempt on the part of the State to supersede these by a State fund. The establishment of the State fund had, therefore, to be delayed, but gradually funds of some kind were formed on all lines, and a clause was frequently introduced into new concessions requiring the company to organise a relief fund. By the end of 1874, 20 funds had been formed on the State railways with 18,078 members, six on private railway lines under State control with 20,964 members, and 39 on private lines with 26,818 members; their respective capital amounted to 9,750,000 marks, 10,800,000 marks and 19,750,000 marks.(2)

(iv.) Trade union funds.

The co-incidence of the formation of the German Empire with the great increase in the movement towards the organisation of labour caused the attitude of the Imperial Government towards the question of the uniform regulation of insurance funds and friendly societies to be favourable to the free or voluntary system. Both the trade unions and the Socialist workmen's associations attached much importance to the formation of benefit funds, and the Goverment was disposed to further the formation of such voluntary associations. The Printers' Union had already a well-organised fund for giving assistance to members in sickness or permanently invalided, Lassalle's General Association of German working men had proposed the formation of a German Workmen's Insurance Society, and the Hirsch-Duncker trade unions were promoting the formation of national mutual aid societies for the different trades on the principles of self-government. Consequently the trade unionists desired a standard law only, allowing free scope for individual variations but giving their funds a definite legal position. The Industrial Code of 1869 compromised the matter by upholding the local and compulsory regulations of the various States, but exempting all workmen who could be shown to subscribe to any voluntary fund. A

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften, vol. I., p. 519, Art., "Arbeiterversicherung (Deutschland)," Honigmann.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften. vol. I., p. 519, Art., "Arbeiterversicherung (Deutschland)," Honigmann.

(2) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften" vol. I., p. 519. Art., "Arbeiterversicherung (Deutchland)," Honigmann.

difficulty then arose as to whether subscription to any fund exempted a workman from the obligation to subscribe to a compulsory fund, or whether the voluntary fund chosen must be one whose rules had received State approval. The magistrates (*Behörden*) decided in favour of the latter alternative, the courts (*Gerichte*) in favour of the former, and the uncertainty prevailing increased the general desire for a legal standard. The result was the law of 1876, amending the Industrial Code, but still preserving the intermediate position of maintaining compulsory funds, whilst permitting those who chose to subscribe to any registered voluntary fund which fulfilled certain conditions laid down by the law with regard to local administration, expenditure of funds, extent of benefits allowed, and contributions required, and separation of all benefit funds from the general funds of a trade union or other society. Existing funds might either modify their rules so as to obtain registration or continue to exist as "unauthorised funds" (*wilde Kassen*). The Hirsch Duncker trade unions profited by this legislation, since by converting all their funds into registered funds they obtained definite legal recognition. Their membership showed some increase, but the great bulk of the German workmen still turned in preference to the Socialist associations, whose numbers advanced rapidly up to the passing of the law of 1878. Very few communes availed themselves of the power afforded to them by the law of forming compulsory funds. Up to the end of 1880 there were only 278 in Prussia, and 20 in the rest of Germany. At the same date there were in Prussia 559 workmen's sick funds with 123,000 members which had obtained registration; 112 of these were formed after 1876; the remainder had re-modelled their statutes. The old Prussian compulsory funds, formed under the previous legislation, survived to the number of 4,342 with 716,738 members. In 1881 64 local compulsory funds were formed and 430 registered, of which 288 were new and 142 re-modelled. Of the 400 new funds only 152 were the result of the free initiative of the members, and only half of these were exclusively composed of workmen. The resuscitation of the Guilds and their funds in 1881 did something to extend the system of insurance; but in very few cases did either these or the trade unions provide anything beyond sick and funeral benefits. The Printers' Union, indeed, the Union of Engineers and Metal Workers and a general German Associated Invalid Fund, formed by Dr. Hirsch in 1869, gave pensions to members, and some of the Socialist associations made efforts in this direction. For the rest provision for the infirm and aged was left in the main to the poor law, to private beneficence, and to the action of certain private societies. A special fund formed by the Crown Prince Frederick and known as the Emperor William's Fund was applied to this purpose, but the proposal made in the Reichstag to introduce compulsory insurance against old age and infirmity was rejected in favour of leaving this question to be solved by private associations or individuals.(1)

(d.) Causes immediately leading up to the Compulsory Insurance Laws of 1883, 1884, and 1889.

Various causes combined to induce the Imperial Government in 1881 to adopt a more decided line of action with regard to workmen's insurance than had characterised its previous policy. It has been shown that from the middle of the century onwards there had been a decided tendency on the part of the Prussian and German Governments to supplement the voluntary system by compulsion, but as long as there appeared to be any hope of achieving the desired result by means of private associations or local methods, the Imperial Government appears to have been reluctant to put forward any uniform or far-reaching scheme. The law of 1876 had not, however, produced the results which were expected of it; the communes were slow to act, and as Dr. Rosin says, "the desire to join sick funds "of their own free will is certainly not present to "any great extent amongst (German) workmen." Then again, even apart from the Government's desire to provide some counter weight to the repressive measures against the Socialists, the actual dissolution of a number of funds belonging to their organisations made an appreciable difference in the necessity for the formation of fresh compulsory funds. Further, there was strong feeling amongst the supporters of workmen's insurance that the existing law was both anomalous and inadequate. Local variations, unimportant at a time when there was little migration either from one locality or from one industry to another, became a hardship in a period of frequent changes, both of profession and of residence. A wide-spread desire for some provision for the infirm and aged other than that afforded by the poor law found expression in such proposals as that made to the Reichstag in 1876, and the demand for reform in the law as regards the liability of employers was a still more potent factor in preparing the public mind for an advance. As the law stood prior to 1874 the burden of proof in the case of a demand for compensation for injuries received in mines, quarries, or factories rested upon the injured workman, who was only entitled to relief if he could show the accident to be due to the fault or negligence of the employer or his officials. An employé injured on a railroad was entitled to compensation, unless the employers could plead circumstances beyond their control (*vis major*) or fault on the part of the injured person. The expense incurred in such actions for compensation deterred the workmen from bringing them, whilst on the other hand the satisfaction of just claims was often a heavy burden upon the individual employer, and the whole working of the law was a source of growing bitterness between employer and employed. Since the passage of the Accident Insurance Law it is stated that litigation has greatly decreased. The necessity for reform in these directions helped to influence the legislative proposals of the Government, though the Imperial message of 1881 leaves no doubt that the desire to afford some positive evidence of their goodwill towards the working classes, and thus to counterbalance the Socialist propaganda was the paramount object of the framers of the insurance laws. In the words of the message "the "healing of social ills cannot be effected entirely by "repressing the excesses of Social Democrats, but "must be equally sought by positive endeavour to "promote the welfare of the working classes."(1)

2. *Compulsory Insurance Laws.*

(a.) Sick insurance. (i.) Persons subject to the law.

By the law of June 15th, 1883, supplemented by the amendment laws of May 28th, 1885, May 5th, 1886, and April 10th, 1892, insurance against sickness is made compulsory upon the persons, specified in five classes, under the Amendment Act of 1892. These classes comprise, first, persons engaged in mines, saltworks, factories, blast furnaces, transport by rail, transport by river or canal, dockyards, building and kindred industries; second, persons engaged in commerce or handicrafts; third, clerks in lawyers' offices and courts of justice, or in the service of insurance companies; fourth, persons engaged in industries employing steam as a motive power; and, finally, all persons engaged in the postal and telegraph services and in naval or military administration. The Amendment Act of 1885 specially included persons engaged in packing goods, loading ships, commissariat, and other subsidiary industries, whilst the Amendment Act of 1886 made the sick insurance laws applicable to workmen engaged in agriculture and forestry, though such an extension could only be made by statutory regulation on the part of the local authorities, or special enactment of the Imperial Chancellor. It has been made in Hesse, Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, Baden, and Saxony, in the case of agricultural and forest labourers permanently engaged, domestic servants and factory officials not earning more than 100*l.* a year. In Bavaria and Würtemberg servants and agricultural and forest labourers receive assistance from the poor law as mentioned above (*see* p. 72). Persons engaged in industries for which insurance is compulsory are exempted from the operation of the law if their term of engagement is for a shorter period than one week, or if, as in the case of soldiers or civil servants, their contract of service entitles them to benefits equal to those which they would receive under the sick insurance law. The crews of sea-going ships are also exempt since they are already provided for under the Commercial Code and the Shipping Act of 1871 (*see* p. 71). Further, apothecaries' assistants and apprentices are exempt, as well as all clerks and officials of the prescribed classes whose salaries exceed 6¾ marks a day, or 2,000 marks a year. Persons incapacitated by injury, physical defects, chronic disease, or old age, from any but partial and temporary employment, may be exempted on their own petition, subject to the approval of the poor-law union concerned, and similar exemption may be granted to persons having a legal claim upon their employers equal in extent to the amount which

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 519. Art., "Arbeiterversicherung (Deutschland)," Honigmann.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. I., p. 519. Art., "Arbeiterversicherung (Deutschland)," Honigmann. Vol. V. Art., "Unfallversicherung," Zacher. Schoenfeld, "Les Principes Rationels de l'Assurance, Ouvrière." Rosin, "Das Recht der Arbeiterversicherung," 1893, pp. 15-19. Bosse und von Woedtke, "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," 1893, pp. 3, 4. Forum, Sept. 1893. Art., by J. Graham Brooks; p. 124.

they would receive under the sick insurance laws, provided that the employer's capacity to satisfy such claim is assured. Further, apprentices having a claim upon their employers for maintenance in sickness during a period of 13 weeks may be exempted upon the petition of the employer, and a like exemption may be claimed by the managers of workmen's colonies for the unemployed workmen temporarily employed by them. Statutory insurance similar to that in force for agricultural and forest labourers may be extended to persons engaged for less than one week, and therefore otherwise exempt, persons employed by the communes, members of an employer's family assisting him in his occupation, workers at home, commercial assistants, and apprentices. Domestic servants and persons with incomes under 2,000 marks, engaged in industries in which insurance is obligatory, though not themselves subject to the law are by law allowed to contribute to communal sick funds, and this permission may be extended by local statute to other persons whose incomes do not exceed the legal limit. (1)

(ii.) Organisation of funds.

The organisation of the sick insurance funds is purely local in character, and the law interfered as little as possible with existing institutions. The guiding principle adopted was that of the grouping of the insured persons in local associations according to their respective industries, and it was desired to leave these local associations as far as possible to the government of the employers and workmen concerned. Local sick funds were, therefore, to be formed by the members of a given industry, provided the number of persons insured in such a fund did not fall below a hundred. Where each industry is feebly represented different industries may, with the consent of the district authorities, unite to form one fund with rules drawn up by the communes concerned. These funds are controlled by a committee and by a general meeting of all the members; the employers must be represented on both these bodies in proportion to the extent of their contributions. Different funds may combine for specific purposes affecting their common interests. Besides these local or district funds special funds may be formed by employers for the workmen in their factories, provided that such workmen are not less than 50 in number. The commune, or the committee of the local sick fund, may oblige an employer to form such a fund, if he employs more than 50 workmen, or if the industry is a specially unhealthy one. The persons insured in such a fund must have a voice in drawing up its rules, but the employer may reserve to himself the post of chairman of the general meeting, and must be responsible for the costs of auditing and managing the funds. Special building funds for the workmen employed by large building firms may be formed by the district authorities on the lines of the factory funds. The existing guild and miners' friendly societies' funds are recognised by the law, but must afford the measure of relief which it prescribes. Finally, a system of communal insurance has been instituted for the benefit of all persons not included in any of the other funds. It may be conducted by such commune individually, or by a number of communes collectively; the latter alternative is to be adopted when the number of persons to be insured is small. Free insurance funds are recognised when they afford the prescribed minimum of relief and have registered their rules as laid down by the law of 1876. The Imperial Insurance Office exercises a right of control over the whole series of funds, and may at any time order the dissolution of any fund which does not comply with the law, or which has not a sufficient number of subscribers to ensure security. (2)

(iii.) Conditions of membership.

Every person entering upon an industry in which insurance is compulsory becomes *ipso facto* a member of the sick fund established for that industry in the given district. Employers are required to give notice within three days of all persons engaged by them who are not contributors to a sick insurance fund, and notice must also be given by the managers of all voluntary funds of all persons ceasing to subscribe to the funds, or descending into a lower wage category. The obligation to subscribe to a fund ceases on the abandonment of an industry for which insurance is compulsory, though if such abandonment is for a temporary cause, such as naval or military service or periodic suspension of work incidental to the industry, the insured person becomes entitled to the full benefits of the fund on resumption of payments without the necessity of making up arrears or paying a fresh entrance fee. Workmen out of employment, who have been members of a fund for at least three weeks, are entitled to the benefits of the fund, if they fall sick within three weeks after they have lost their employment. Any person insured in a communal sick fund, who relinquishes work for which insurance is compulsory without entering upon any other work, may continue to be a member of the fund as long as he pays the proper contributions and remains in the same district. Members of non-communal sick funds may prolong their membership, although they no longer belong to the given industry, if they give notice of their intention within a week, or on the first occasion when payments are due. In the case of building and factory funds such members are allowed no voice in the control of the funds. Any member of a compulsory fund may at any time leave it, and become a member of a voluntary fund, by giving notice three months beforehand of his intention and indicating the voluntary fund of which he intends to become a member. A member of any fund who has not paid his subscriptions for two successive periods loses his right to the benefits of the fund.(1)

(iv.) Benefits.

The benefits to which subscribers are entitled include free medical aid and an allowance during sickness, as well as, in certain funds, an allowance to women during their confinement, and an allowance for funeral expenses in the case of a member, his wife, or child. Free medical attendance and all remedies needed are supplied to persons insured in any fund for the whole period of their illness, or at least for thirteen weeks; if it is so directed by the statutes of that fund, this aid may be extended to the families of members. Certain of the voluntary funds do not give free aid in kind, but allow three-fourths of the average daily wages instead of one-half. The sick allowance begins from the third day after the beginning of the illness and continues throughout the period of disability, provided that that period does not exceed thirteen weeks. It is usually calculated at 50 per cent. of the usual daily wage for the district in the case of communal funds, and at 50 per cent. of the average daily wage of the class of persons to which the insured person belongs in the case of other funds, provided that that wage does not exceed three marks a day. In special cases the limit of wages may be fixed by statute at four marks. Payment for the first three days of the illness and for Sundays and holidays may be made by special permission of the directors of the funds. Funds other than communal funds may continue the sick allowance beyond thirteen weeks, and even for as long as a year, and they may increase the amount from half to three-fourths of the average daily wage. Treatment in a hospital may be substituted for the grant of free medical and sick pay; in the case of persons with families this is as a rule only done with their own consent, unless the illness is one which cannot be properly treated at home, or unless the patient has transgressed the rules of the fund and requires special supervision. In the case of persons without families treatment in a hospital is obligatory. The families of members in hospital, if dependent upon their work, are entitled to receive half the sick allowance. The statutes of any fund may determine that a member who has already received aid for 13 weeks within the calendar year shall, if he again falls ill of the same disease, be entitled only to the legal minimum of support. They may also withhold support, entirely or partially for a year, from persons who have forfeited civil rights, and from persons who have brought on a disease by their own excesses, for the period of the disease. The assistance afforded to persons insured in more than one fund may also be curtailed when, if granted in full by the various funds, it would exceed the average wages. Members of funds, who are not legally compelled to insure themselves, are often only entitled to receive assistance after six weeks' membership; in some cases this period is extended to six months. The allowance to women during their confinement is paid by all funds, except communal funds, to women who have been members for six months. It can also be given, if the statutes so direct, to the wives

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 858. Art., "Krankenversicherung," Van der Borght. Bellom, "Assurance contre la Maladie," 1892, pp. 12-21. "The Workmen's Insurance of the German Empire," Chicago Guide, 1893. Rosin, "Das Recht der Arbeiterversicherung," 1893, pp. 496-500. Pfafferoth, "Führer durch die Gesammte Arbeiterversicherung."

(2) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 858. Art., "Krankenversicherung," Van der Borght. Bellom, "L'Assurance contre la Maladie," 1892, pp. 28-34. "The Workmen's Insurance of the German Empire," Chicago Guide, 1893. Rosin, "Das Recht der Arbeiterversicherung," 1893, p. 30. Pfafferoth "Führer durch die Gesammte Arbeiterversicherung."

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 358. Art., "Krankenversicherung," van der Borght. Bellom, "L'Assurance contre la Maladie," 1892, pp. 44-62. Rosin, "Das Recht der Arbeiterversicherung," 1893, p. 30. "Workmen's Insurance of the German Empire," Chicago Guide, 1893. Pfafferoth, "Führer durch die Gesammte Arbeiterversicherung."

of members who are not themselves members, and is reckoned in the same way as the sick allowance. It is usually paid for four weeks, but in some cases the time is extended to six weeks. Burial money is also paid by all but communal funds, and is reckoned at 20 times, or in some funds 40 times, the average daily wage. In some cases two-thirds of this sum is paid at the death of a member's wife, and half at the death of a child, which is not itself insured. Some funds make a convalescent allowance in certain cases in addition to their other benefits; but the communal funds confine themselves to the legal minimum free medical aid, and half the usual wages for 13 weeks.(1)

(v.) Constitution of funds.

The general principle on which the contributions to all funds, excepting those of the miners' friendly societies, are assessed is that two-thirds must be paid by the persons insured, and one-third by their employers. Small employers employing no more than two workmen liable to insurance may be exempted from contributing by a special resolution of the commune. As a rule, the contributions amount in all to 1½ per cent. of the average daily wages, 1 per cent. paid by the workman and ½ per cent. by the employer. With the consent of the district authorities, however, the amount may be raised even in the case of communal insurance to 2 per cent., and in the case of funds belonging to special trades, the percentage may be higher and may be graduated for different classes of workmen. It may not exceed 4½ per cent. in all, 3 per cent. for the workman and 1½ per cent. for the employer. The relation between receipts and expenses must be re-adjusted annually, and if the balance is found to be on the wrong side the contributions are either raised or the benefits diminished. If, on the other hand, the receipts exceed the expenses to a greater extent than is required for the reserve fund, the benefits may be increased or the contributions diminished. Every fund is obliged to maintain a reserve equal to one-tenth of the annual contributions, or to one year's average expenditure. All funds except communal funds may also exact an entrance fee, not exceeding the sum of six weeks' contributions. This entrance fee is paid by the workman alone, but is, as a rule, advanced by the employer. The employer also pays the workmen's contributions and deducts the amount from their wages. If a new member has within the last 13 weeks been a member of another fund, he cannot be asked to pay an entrance fee; the same rule holds good in the case of military service, and in the other cases mentioned above (*see* p. 73). Where assistance has been given out of sick funds to persons chargeable upon the poor law, or having legal claims upon the individuals, the amount can be recovered from the individuals or from the poor-law administrators. Similarly the latter can recover from the managers of the sick funds any assistance which they have afforded to insured persons entitled to benefits.(1)

(vi.) Statistics.

The statistics collected by the Imperial Insurance Office for 1885–1890, together with those for 1892, are given in the following tables:—

TABLE O 1.

SICK INSURANCE STATISTICS.

TOTAL RESULT, 1885–1892.(*)

YEAR.	Number of Funds.	Number of Members.							Cases of Sickness.	Duration of Sickness.	Contributions and Entrance Fees.	Total Receipts.	Total Expenditure.
		Communal Funds.	Local Trade Funds.	Factory Funds.	Building Funds.	Guild Funds	Voluntary Funds.	Special Statutory Funds.					
										Days.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.
1885 -	18,942	545,200	1,161,200	1,201,400	11,400	15,800	656,000	136,300	1,804,300	25,301,200	59,135,100	66,100,300	52,646,800
1886 -	19,357	580,500	1,532,000	1,268,800	13,100	27,100	741,000	145,500	1,712,700	26,281,400	62,128,500	72,966,400	58,745,500
1887 -	19,715	623,500	1,699,800	1,320,500	12,100	34,600	724,200	145,300	1,738,900	27,112,700	67,283,000	78,928,300	61,068,300
1888 -	20,468	625,200	1,905,500	1,378,100	17,300	43,900	722,300	140,800	1,762,500	29,528,800	74,849,100	91,914,400	68,588,700
1889 -	20,822	886,000	2,218,500	1,462,700	27,700	51,500	755,800	143,400	2,042,100	33,428,700	84,301,900	102,529,800	78,553,000
1890 -	21,173	994,000	2,449,700	1,611,800	21,400	58,600	786,000	144,100	2,422,300	39,176,700	91,229,700	114,558,300	92,709,600
1891 -	21,498	1,041,193	2,563,132	1,693,517	10,644	61,875	819,403	140,036	2,397,826	—	96,700,000	—	98,800,000
1892 -	22,000	7,723,000							2,752,000	43,500,000	132,000,000	124,000,000	110,000,000

(*) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 865. Art., "Krankenversicherung," van der Borght. "Workmen's Insurance of the German Empire," Chicago Guide, Imperial Insurance Office, Berlin. Official Statistics for 1891.

TABLE O 2.

AVERAGE RESULT, 1885–1890.(†)

Marks per annum per Person Insured.					Per case of Sickness.		Relief per 100 Insured.			Relief per 100 Marks.					
Contributions of		Expenses of		Funds.	Sick Days.	Expenses.	Sick Persons.			Sick Pay.	Doctor.	Medicine.	Hospital.	Burial.	Childbirth.
Employers.	Employed.	Relief.	Management.				Male.	Female.	Total.						
Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.		Marks.				Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.
3·69	10·99	11·77	0·81	9·72	15·7	32·41	37·4	31·8	36·3	47·91	19·97	16·04	10·49	4·28	1·31

(†) "Workmen's Insurance of the German Empire," Chicago Guide, Imperial Insurance Office, Berlin.

(b.) Accident insurance. (i.) Development of the law.

The recognised necessity for an amendment in the law regarding employers' liability induced the Imperial Government to introduce a Bill on the subject in 1881. Though, in the end, the sick insurance law was passed first, this was merely due to the fact that the provisions of the accident insurance law gave rise to considerable difference of opinion, and that in the course of discussion it became clear that it would be impossible to define the limits of an employers' liability unless the whole system of aid afforded to workmen during incapacity to work underwent a thorough revision. The Bill on accident insurance introduced in 1881 embodied the principle finally adopted in 1884, of making the employer liable for all injuries to the workmen not deliberately self-caused. The insurance was to be effected in one central fund

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 858. Art., "Krankenversicherung," van der Borght. Rosin, "Das Recht der Arbeiterversicherung," 1893, pp. 31, 484, 497-500. Bellom, "L'Assurance contre la Maladie," 1892, pp. 27-34. "Workmen's Insurance of the German Empire," Chicago Guide, 1893. Pfafferoth, "Führer durch die Gesammte Arbeiterversicherung."

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 858. Art., "Krankenversicherung," van der Borght. Rosin, "Das Recht der Arbeiterversicherung," 1893, p. 31. Bellom, "L'Assurance contre la Maladie," 1892, pp. 75-83. "Workmen's Insurance of the German Empire," Chicago Guide, 1893. Pfafferoth, "Führer durch die Gesammte Arbeiterversicherung."

under imperial control, and the premiums were to be paid by State, employer, and employed in definite proportions. The Bill in that form failed to pass the Reichstag, and it was re-introduced in 1882 with various changes. The probationary period during which the injured workman was to be left to the care of sick insurance societies was prolonged from 4 to 13 weeks, but, on the other hand, 75 per cent. of the whole expense of insurance against accidents was made to devolve upon the employers, and the remaining 25 per cent. upon the State. Much greater importance was also given to the principle of corporate insurance, the Bill providing that employers in the same industry in each district should be formed into groups for the administration of the law. The Bill was referred to a committee, which was directed to present an oral report on the subject; but up to the end of the session the report had not been presented, and the matter was left to stand over to a future date. The session of 1883 was occupied with the sick insurance law, and it was not until 1884 that the law in its present form was finally passed. It has since been amended in 1885, 1886, and 1887, by the successive inclusion under its provisions of employés in the postal and telegraph, naval and military services, agricultural and forest labourers, factory officials, seamen, and builders' labourers.(1)

(ii.) Persons included.

In its final form the legislation with regard to accident insurance obliges all employers to insure their workpeople and clerical staff not receiving more than 2,000 marks a year against all accidents, which may occur to them in the pursuit of their calling. The obligation holds good even where the employment is merely temporary and unpaid. The comprehensive scope of the law becomes apparent when it is seen that the only classes of wage-earners not entitled to its benefits are fishermen, artisans, domestic servants, messengers, and travelling merchants. All industries employing wind, water, steam, gas, or hot air as a motive power are included, as well as mining, working in metals, working in stone, well-digging, transport, loading and packing of goods and subsidiary industries of every kind. Captains of vessels, as well as agricultural and building employers, are allowed to insure themselves as well as their men, provided that the yearly income which they derive from their profession, does not exceed 2,000 marks. The obligation may also be extended by local statute to foremen or factory officials earning more than 2,000 marks, as well as to agricultural employers and their families, and builders not employing regular labourers. Employers may also obtain special powers by statute entitling them to insure themselves and other persons, even where their incomes exceed the legal limit.(2)

(iii.) Organisation and membership.

For insurance purposes the employers in an industry are obliged to form themselves into a trade association (*Berufsgenossenschaft, see* p. 22) which may extend throughout the Empire, or be confined to a particular district. Thus, in some industries, as for instance in mining, there is only one such association, whilst in others, as for instance in the textile industry, there are several. The total number of industrial associations at present organised is 64, including those of seamen and builders, whilst the agricultural associations number 48. This recognition of trade responsibility is regarded by Mr. Graham Brooks as one of the most valuable features of the law. The territorial principle of division is adopted for agriculture. Every employer becomes, *ipso facto*, a member of an association from the moment that he enters upon a given industry, or begins to administer a landed estate. The associations are divided into sections with sectional committees, and their local affairs are carried on by trustees (*Vertrauensmänner*).

The statutes of every association must be approved by the Imperial Insurance Office, and the affairs of the association conducted by the Committee subject to the control of the office. Representatives must be elected amongst the workmen employed by the members of every association, and these must be given a voice in all matters affecting the workmen's interests, especially in the matter of the means to be adopted for guarding machinery and preventing accidents. Courts of arbitration are to be established by every association or section of an association, consisting of a president and four assessors, two of whom are to be chosen from amongst the representatives of the workmen. An appeal may be made from the decisions of these courts to the Imperial Insurance Office. Considerable delay is said to result from these appeals owing to the presure of work in the Imperial Insurance Office. In the case of builders, well-diggers and engineers, a special institution exists for the insurance of workmen employed for less than six days, administered by the communal authorities instead of the individual employers. These authorities reckon the amount of premium due from each individual employer and recover from him the sum advanced by them on his behalf for the insurance of the workmen. In the case of postal and telegraph employés, employés in the service of the naval and military administration, and workmen employed upon Government or Municipal buildings and public works generally, the place of the trade association is taken by the corresponding public body, and the duties of the association fulfilled by the executive of that public body.(1).

(iv.) Benefits.

The benefits to which persons insured under the Accident Insurance Laws are entitled include medical treatment and remedies free and an allowance during the period of total or partial inability to work. For the first 13 weeks after the accident the injured person remains a charge upon the fund to which he subscribes according to the sick insurance laws, but from the fourteenth week onward the Accident Insurance funds must provide the required medical aid and pay the injured workman, if totally disabled, a daily allowance equal to two-thirds of his average daily earnings. If the workman is only partially disabled he receives a smaller allowance, fixed in each individual case by the association responsible. In case of death the survivors receive a sum equal to twenty days' pay of the deceased workman for the funeral expenses; the widow, until her re-marriage, is given an allowance equal to 20 per cent. of her husband's wages, whilst 15 per cent. is allowed for every child under 15, who has lost one parent, and 20 per cent. if it has lost both. Other relations entirely dependent upon the deceased receive an allowance equal to 20 per cent. of his wages. The allowances made to widow and children must not exceed in all 60 per cent. of the wages of the deceased. In the case of industrial workmen the actual wages are taken as the basis of calculation, and the amount earned by the man during the last year of work is divided by 365 to find the daily wage. For agricultural and forest labourers the average district wage is taken, because there is as a rule so little variation in individual cases; the average wage is also taken as a basis in the case of seamen but for a different reason, the variety of wages being here so great that it would be very difficult to ascertain a sailor's actual earnings during the previous year. Foreigners injured in Germany are entitled to the benefits of insurance, but in case of disability likely to continue the association in question may discharge its liabilities by capitalising the indemnity due and paying the sum down to the injured workman. If a foreign workman is killed, his relations have no claim to any pension unless they reside in Germany(2).

(v.) Constitution and expenditure of funds.

As stated above, the total cost of insurance against accidents in Germany is borne by the employers collectively. The sums due to persons entitled to compensation are paid monthly through the post offices, and the trade associations liable repay the postal authorities at the end of five months. In addition to the payment of indemnities every association must form a reserve fund, the nucleus of which is a sum deposited at the end of the first year of its existence and equal to 300 per cent. of the total amount of indemnities paid during the year. At the end of the second year 200 per cent. of the indemnities paid during that year must be added, at the end of the third year 150 per cent., of the fourth year 100 per cent., of the fifth year 80 per cent., of the sixth year 60 per cent., and so on to the end of the eleventh year, diminishing each year by 10 per cent. From the twelfth year onwards the reserve fund is not augmented except by the addition of the interest on the accumulating capital composing it. The cost of administration, which is very considerable and includes expenses involved in investigation, the costs of the arbitration courts, expenses incurred in the prevention

(1) Rosin, "Das Recht der Arbeiterversicherung," 1893, pp. 19-44. Lexi "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. VI., Art., "Zacher.

Pfafferoth "Führer durch die Gesammte Arbeiterversicherung." "Etude Statistique des Accidents du Travail." Paris, Office du Travail, 1893, pp. 9-11. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. VI. Art. "Unfallversicherung," Zacher.

(1) Pfafferoth, "Führer durch die Gesammte Arbeiterversicherung." "Etude Statistique des Accidents du Travail." Paris, Office du Travail, 1893. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, 1891-2, vol. I., p. 427. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenvchaften," vol. VI., Art. "Unfallversicherung," Zacher. Forum, Sept. 1893, Art. by J. Graham Brooks.

(2) Pfafferoth "Führer durch die Gesammte Arbeiterversicherung." "Résultats Financiers de l'Assurance Obligatoire contre les Accidents du Travail." Paris, Office du Travail, 1892. Lexis, Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. VI., Art. "Unfallversicherung," Zacher.

of accidents, current costs of administration and the expenses of establishing the association must be added to the total liabilities of the associations. "Der Zimmerer," a workman's paper, gives the costs for the Hamburg building trade at 21,689 marks, whilst the sum paid in indemnities was only 20,858 marks. These total liabilities are distributed at the end of each year between the individual members in proportion to the amount of wages they pay to workmen in their employment. The subscriptions due from members of associations are calculated according to the degree of risk attaching to the particular industry, being much higher in some associations than in others. Every association is directed by the Imperial Insurance Office to revise its tariff every five years since, until the period is reached at which the pensions terminating in each year are equal to those originating and a balance can consequently be struck between receipts and expenditure, it is impossible to assign a fixed co-efficient of risk to each industry. At present the expenses are increasing annually; between 1885 and 1890 the indemnities paid multiplied by nine times and a half, the costs of investigation rose from 0·8 per cent. of the total expenditure to 1·5 per cent., whilst the expense incurred in the prevention of accidents increased fivefold. On the other hand the costs of administration show little variation, and the proportion which they bear to the total sum of wages paid shows a slight diminution. To meet this increased cost it has been necessary to increase the contributions to be paid by employers, which constitute by far the largest part of the total receipts. These include, besides the sum in hand at the beginning of each year, the fines paid by employers for neglecting to observe the rules drawn up by the association to which they belong with a view to the prevention of accidents, interest and small contributions from various sources; but the employers' contributions have furnished sums varying from 98½ per cent. in 1886 to 83½ per cent. in 1890 of the total income of the associations. Since 1888 the reserve fund of the associations as a whole has exceeded the expenditure.(1)

(vi.) Cost of insurance and degree of risk in different industries.

The contributions payable by the members of different associations vary in proportion to the degree of risk attaching to the industry and the cost of administration. The statistics for 1890 show that taking these two kinds of expenses together the carriage-drivers' association was assessed at the highest rate, viz., 9·13 marks per 1,000 marks of wages paid, whilst the association of brewers was next highest with 19·12 marks. On the other hand, taking indemnities alone, the order of the two was reversed. The following table shows the relative cost of insurance as well as the degree of risk in the various industries. With regard to the place occupied by maritime navigation, it must be borne in mind that insurance was extended to that industry two years later than to others, and that the cost is therefore as yet proportionately less. It is also noticeable that the costs of administration in industries such as driving and chimney sweeping are proportionately greater than in more centralised industries.

(1) Pfafferoth, "Führer durch die gessammte Arbeiterversicherung." "Résultats Financiers de l'Assurance Obligatoire contre les Accidents du Travail," Paris, Office du Travail, 1892. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. VI. Art., "Unfallversicherung," Zacher. "Der Zimmerer," June 10, 1893.

TABLE P 1.

CLASSIFICATION of INDUSTRIES according to COST of INSURANCE and RISK.*

Industry.	Total Cost of Insurance, including Compensation and Administration.		Total Amount paid in Compensation.		Total Number of Fatal Accidents.		Total Number of Accidents for which Compensation was paid.	
	Amount per 1,000 Marks in Wages.	Order.	Amount per 1,000 Marks in Wages.	Order.	Number per 1,000 insured.	Order.	Number per 1000 insured.	Order.
Driving of vehicles	19·13	1	8·91	2	2·26	1	9·41	3
Brewing	19·12	2	9·30	1	1·32	6	10·75	1
Flour mills	19·04	3	7·87	6	1·05	9	7·20	5
Quarries	17·44	4	8·72	3	1·19	8	4·46	12
Mining	16·81	5	8·52	4	2·18	2	7·69	4
Packing and despatch of goods	15·77	6	7·36	7	1·49	5	10·09	2
Paper making	14·94	7	7·14	8	0·80	13	7·04	6
River navigation	14·22	8	6·30	10	2·07	3	4·30	15
Maritime navigation	13·73	9	4·36	17	1·91	4	1·96	26
Well digging	13·32	10	8·31	5	0·78	14	4·58	11
Railways (private companies)	13·11	11	6·70	9	1·21	7	5·39	9
Sugar refining	12·99	12	6·29	11	0·49	19	3·26	19
Chimney sweeping	12·85	13	3·59	19	0·84	11	3·44	18
Building	12·38	14	6·27	12	0·83	12	4·28	16
Distilling	12·33	15	5·39	15	0·66	15	4·35	13
Workers in wood	11·75	16	5·59	14	0·52	18	6·05	7
Chemical industries	11·74	17	5·91	13	0·90	10	5·26	10
Iron and steel	9·88	18	4·58	16	0·56	17	5·83	8
Gas and water works	9·23	19	4·10	18	0·65	16	3·80	17
Tramways	7·34	20	3·25	20	0·29	22	2·13	24
Brick and tile making	7·23	21	3·10	21	0·35	21	2·07	25
Food purveying	7·01	22	3·01	22	0·25	23	4·31	14
Leather manufacture	6·35	23	2·86	23	0·38	20	2·85	20
Glass manufacture	5·20	24	2·40	24	0·21	24	1·83	27
Textile trades	4·39	25	2·04	25	0·19	25	2·16	23
Manufacture of musical instruments	4·24	26	1·71	26	0·09	29	1·29	29
Metal work (precious and other metals)	4·09	27	1·68	27	0·11	27	2·55	21
Stationery	4·05	28	1·46	28	0·10	28	2·37	22
Manufacture of mechanical instruments	3·87	29	1·29	30	0·11	27	2·16	23
Potteries	3·13	30	1·36	29	0·15	26	1·16	30
Printing	2·77	31	1·09	31	0·07	30	1·07	31
Manufacture of clothing	2·27	32	0·97	32	0·04	32	0·37	32
Manufacture of silk	1·60	33	0·69	33	0·05	31	1·40	28
Manufacture of tobacco	1·35	34	0·43	34	0·03	33	0·36	33

(*) "Etude Statistique des Accidents du Travail," Paris Office du Travail, 1892, "Résultats Financiers de l'Assurance Obligatoire contre les Accidents du Travail," Paris, Office du Travail, 1892.

TABLE P 2.

STATISTICS for DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES 1891.(1)

INDUSTRY.	Establishments.	Persons Insured.	Accidents compensated (including those of the current year and those standing over from previous years).	Expenses.	Receipts.	Funds.	Cost of Administration.			
							Per Person insured.	Per 1,000 marks Wages.	Per Establishment.	Per accident reported.
				Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.
1. Mining	2,075	421,137	13,255	6,509,007·46	7,007,639·13	15,323,442·11	0·58	0·63	117·92	7·30
2. Quarries	15,383	253,250	4,297	1,550,548·79	1,919,599·25	3,290,556·21	0·70	2·09	11·52	41·88
3. Manufacture of mechanical instruments	2,258	64,172	665	243,171·22	336,793·71	527,062·56	0·84	0·95	23·88	39·96
4. Iron and steel	23,834	592,783	15,104	5,614,492·08	6,306,562·06	11,907,780·36	0·73	0·85	39·52	12·24
5. Metals (precious and other)	4,319	101,966	990	351,991·32	443,355·41	773,947·56	0·49	0·64	11·94	30·55
6. Musical instruments	824	23,557	188	76,538·49	78,004·96	118,297·17	0·73	1·05	20·93	64·11
7. Glass	716	56,357	510	211,897·20	233,248·72	399,209·41	0·72	1·06	56·77	45·83
8. Pottery	897	66,455	381	128,899·66	173,507·76	265,619·93	0·36	0·54	24·51	42·85
9. Brick and tile making	12,547	254,102	2,378	891,213·59	1,059,605·12	1,559,328·46	0·45	1·15	9·08	46·05
10. Chemical industries	5,273	101,134	2,410	1,084,134·62	1,274,269·69	2,265,676·58	1·38	1·68	26·44	31·05
11. Gas and water works	1,138	26,873	463	268,198·87	341,694·05	556,668·52	1·23	1·24	29·12	28·00
12. Textile trades	9,342	601,764	6,106	1,633,239·33	1,939,852·87	3,556,020·19	0·34	0·60	29·74	28·68
13. Silk	666	43,899	160	59,749·03	74,666·95	115,264·88	0·23	0·34	14·92	41·93
14. Paper making	1,287	58,489	1,718	553,411·41	628,411·34	1,170,638·94	1·04	1·74	47·28	32·66
15. Stationery	2,072	60,668	553	169,985·56	290,228·83	369,583·24	0·73	1·01	21·25	59·43
16. Leather work	2,424	46,289	657	263,253·47	303,458·14	470,804·06	0·79	0·98	15·12	51·48
17. Workers in wood	34,442	214,596	6,295	1,872,713·97	1,996,630·81	3,526,551·21	0·92	1·38	5·69	25·72
18. Flour mills	37,637	86,439	2,729	1,044,895·26	1,330,004·92	2,217,579·94	2·25	3·64	5·17	82·40
19. Food purveying	11,738	58,161	977	318,751·44	310,079·75	513,920·96	0·73	1·01	3·59	36·40
20. Sugar refining	464	99,097	1,665	594,880·75	674,508·64	1,247,678·01	0·56	1·34	119·92	23·56
21. Distilling	8,028	41,569	913	354,723·16	450,342·56	700,572·79	1·47	2·30	7·62	65·34
22. Brewing	5,635	72,517	3,142	1,443,767·68	1,621,512·66	3,912,844·61	1·68	1·71	21·67	23·40
23. Tobacco	4,708	109,111	176	71,317·18	110,495·67	145,474·63	0·22	0·45	5·08	83·64
24. Clothing manufacture	2,967	104,748	540	162,745·50	175,739·28	236,166·66	0·25	0·44	8·77	37·79
25. Chimney sweeping	3,215	5,804	52	44,231·37	70,202·74	86,155 67	3·41	5·69	6·16	232·88
26. Building	120,118	992,735	17,259	7,665,149·90	8,059,894·22	13,068,253·92	0·87	1·63	6·55	37·42
27. Printing	4,295	69,806	424	177,320·12	215,332·08	320,502·37	0·55	0·64	8·95	55·22
28. Railways (private)	116	26,886	563	305,351·37	305,551·37	642,486·50	0·59	0·70	37·75	13·15
29. Tramways	197	31,853	218	123,361·55	153,401·49	327,073·70	0·62	1·27	100·24	19·44
30. Packing and despatch of goods	19,599	80,348	2,527	1,217,149·50	2,022,585·02	2,178,870·17	1·73	1·83	7·11	31·82
31. Driving of vehicles	26,551	69,397	2,181	975,300·56	1,117,049·68	1,385,875·72	2·74	4·29	7·16	80·20
32. River navigation	16,276	55,157	1,039	519,598·37	627,679·03	948,262·87	1·63	2·37	6·20	50·98
33. Maritime navigation	1,711	43,300	740	369,023·02	443,037·94	558,621·95	1·40	2·38	35·52	32·41
34. Well digging	12,504	164,993	3,066	1,113,800·40	5,656,753·12	4,956,885·35	0·93	1·99	12·33	52·50
35. Agriculture and forestry	4,776,520	12,289,415	34,338	5,608,773·25	6,148,464·28	2,406,170·76	—	—	—	—

(1) Official statistics for 1891, published by the Imperial Insurance Office, Berlin.

(vii.) General statistics.

The General Statistics for 1890, 1891, and 1892, and the average result are given in the tables appended :—

TABLE P 3.

TOTAL RESULT.—ACCIDENT INSURANCE, 1890, 1891, 1892.(2)

Organisation of Insurance.	Number.			Establishment.			Persons Insured.			Accidents Compensated.		
	1890	1891.	1892.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1890.	1891.	1892.
Trade Associations	112	112	112	5,234,243	5,181,761	5,182,000	13,015,370	17,382,827	17,400,000	—	128,584	166,100
Offices for State Works	316	352	356	—	—	—	604,380	632,459	600,000	—	8,956	10,900
TOTAL	428	464	468	5,234,243	5,181,761	5,182,000	13,619,750	18,015,286	18,000,000	—	137,540	177,000

(*continued.*)

Organisation of Insurance.	Receipts in Marks.			Expenses in Marks.			Funds in Marks.		
	1890.	1891.	1892.	1890.	1891.	1892.	1890.	1891.	1892.
Trade Associations	44,416,445	53,837,904	65,000,000	36,696,911	43,500 528	51,000,000	—	81,610,274	101,000,000
Offices for State Works	1,923,399	2,427,837	3,000,000	1,923,399	2,427,857	3,000,000	—	—	—
TOTAL	46,339,844	56,265,741	68,000,000	38,620,310	45,928,365	54,000,000	—	81,610,247	101,000,000

(2) The statistics for 1890 and 1891 are taken from the Official Statistics of the Imperial Insurance Office, published December 6th, 1893. Those for 1892 are taken from the Guide for the Chicago Exhibition on Workmen's Insurance, published by the same office. It would appear that the figures for 1892 are given in round numbers, whilst those for 1890 and 1891 are exact.

TABLE P 4.

AVERAGE RESULT of ACCIDENT INSURANCE.(*)

Financial Year.	Marks per Person insured.					Marks per case of Accident.	Compensation per 1,000 insured.				Compensation per 100 marks.			
	Conditions of		Expenses of		Funds.		Injured Persons.	Survivors.			Allowances, &c.		Charges for	
	Employers.	Employed.	Compensation.	Management.				Widows	Orphans.	Parents	Injured	Survivors.	Cure.	Burial.
In the year 1890 -	2·98	—	1·40	0·40	5·52	200	6·3	1·0	1·9	0·1	68·66	21·35	8·61	1·38
In the 50th year -	6·86	—	6·40	0·40	13·72	200	21·7	8·3	5·0	0·3	67·44	30·20	2·04	0·32

(*) "Workmen's Insurance of the German Empire," Chicago Guide, published by the Imperial Insurance Office, Berlin, 1893.

(c.) Invalidity and Old Age Insurance. Development of the Law.

The first scheme for the compulsory insurance of all working men against inability to work consequent upon old age or permanent invalidity was drawn up in the Imperial Insurance Office and included in a Memorandum "on the Principles of Workmen's Insurance against old age and invalidity" submitted in December 1887, to the Prussian Economic Conference (*Volkswirtschaftsrat*). This conference contributed many valuable suggestions, amongst others a proposal to include small employers within the classes for whom insurance was compulsory, and a restriction of the working year for which the premiums were to be calculated to 280 instead of 300 working days. It also called attention to the important question of the measure of permanence to be exacted in all work involving compulsory insurance. The general result of these deliberations was to place before the country a practicable scheme of insurance, which only required modification in detail before passing into law. On April 15th, 1888, a Bill was introduced into the Federal Council, and by it referred to a Committee, which substituted territorial unions of communes for the trade associations constituted under the Accident Insurance Law as the proper administrators of the proposed old age and invalid insurance. The text of the Bill was published in the Official Gazette at the beginning of July, even before it had been finally considered by the Federal Council, so that the public might have ample opportunities of judging of the merits of the scheme. Finally the Bill, as amended by the Federal Council, was introduced into the Reichstag on November 22nd, 1888 with a special recommendation in the speech delivered from the throne by the Emperor William II. On May 24th, 1889, it was accepted by the Reichstag, and on June 22nd it received the Imperial sanction. It was not, however, until April 1st, 1891, that it came into full force (1).

(ii.) Persons included.

The scope of the Invalidity and Old Age Insurance Law is greater than that of the Sick and Accident Insurance Laws, for it includes all persons over sixteen years of age engaged in any industrial pursuit and receiving pecuniary remuneration. These persons are further defined as "workmen, journeymen, assistants, apprentices or domestic servants." Small employers, and commercial employés or apprentices are also included, with the exception of apothecaries' apprentices and assistants, provided that their yearly salary does not exced 2,000 marks. The crews of German ships are also subject to the law. In the first instance, therefore, this insurance was intended for all persons, who are dependent upon employment by others for their means of subsistence; but in addition to these, persons who carry on an independent business without employing any paid workmen, and small employers, who are practically workmen, have the option of insurance, or may even be compelled to insure themselves at the discretion of the Federal Council. Persons, whom some change of circumstances has removed from the classes for which insurance is compulsory, may still continue their subscriptions, or may at any time renew their insurance. There still remains much uncertainty in detail as to the persons to be included under the law. The Federal Council, by way of giving practical guidance, has intimated that porters and messengers who perform temporary services for a number of persons are to be regarded as carrying on an independent business and therefore exempt, whilst washerwomen, sempstresses, tailoresses, and other such female workers are to be regarded as subject to the law when working in the houses of their customers and exempt when working at home. Again, insurance is compulsory for nurses but not for governesses, the distinction here consisting in the intellectual character of the work of teaching; and the same principle has apparently led to the exclusion of assessors and commission agents whose work is regarded as requiring a higher mental qualification than that of a mechanic. In short the work of the mechanic is the type to which all employment involving insurance is supposed to approximate, though it is obvious that individual cases must be decided upon their merits, and that even at the very outset the law affords opportunity for litigation and entails proportionate expense. Duration of employment does not in itself affect the obligation to insurance, but the Federal Council has power to determine the degree of permanence desirable, and has excluded occasional employment, employment only undertaken as an addition to other work and for an insignificant remuneration, and services rendered in exceptional cases, as for instance in case of accident. Persons entitled to a pension from the Imperial or State governments or from the communal authorities, as well as persons in receipt of an allowance under the Accident Insurance Law, are exempt from further insurance, if they can show that this pension or allowance is equal to the benefits which they would receive under the Old Age and Invalid Insurance Law. Workmen who by reason of physical or mental defects are unable to earn at least one-third of the average wage of the district are excluded, as well as all workmen who merely receive free maintenance (1).

(iii.) Organisation.

In organising the new system of insurance against old age and invalidity the greatest care was taken by the Imperial Government to avoid over centralisation. Whilst the Federal Council and the Imperial Insurance office are the supreme legislative and executive authorities for the empire, the actual administration of the law is left to district Insurance Institutes (*Versicherungsanstalte*), established for such districts as should be defined by the Federal Council. These number thirty-one in all, thirteen for Prussia, five of which also include portions of other states, eight for Bavaria, one each for Saxony, Würtemberg, Baden, Hesse, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, the three Hanseatic towns, the eight Thüringian states and Alsace Lorraine. Each division has its salaried executive board and its committee; the executive board is composed of one or more Government officials, with whom may be joined other members, both paid and unpaid, according to the special statutes of the institute. Employers and employed are equally represented upon the committee which is elected by the committees of the friendly societies and other sick insurance funds in the district. The members of this committee are unpaid, but the workmen's representatives receive compensation for any loss of wages incurred through attendance to their official duties. Local agents (*Vertrauensmänner*) may be appointed for carrying out the business of the committee. To every insurance institute there is a State Commissioner appointed by the Government of the

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 598, Art.: "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," v. Woedtke. Bosse und v. Woedtke, "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," 1891, pp. 1-118.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 598, Art.: "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," v. Woedtke. Bosse und v. Woedtke, "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," 1891, pp. 129-132. Spender, "The State and Pensions in Old Age," 1892, p. 80. Stengel, "Wörterbuch des deutschen Verwaltungsrechts," Vol. I. Art: "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," v. Woedtke. The Federal Council are at present considering a scheme for extending the benefits of the law to home workers in the textile trades. *See* Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892-3, p. 531.

State and approved by the Imperial Chancellor. This Commissioner is entrusted with the duty of watching over the interests of the other institutes and of the State, but can exercise no other right of supervision over the particular institute to which he is attached. Finally a court of arbitration must be constituted in each insurance district, with a Government official for president and assessors elected in equal numbers from employers and employed. The State Commissioners and the Courts of arbitration are controlled by the central authorities (*Landesbehörde*), the district insurance institute by the Imperial Insurance Office, which also constitutes a final court of appeal against the decisions of the courts of arbitration. The miners' friendly societies and the pension funds attached to certain railways and large industrial undertakings are recognised by the Government, provided that they confer benefits equivalent to those attaching to the law and institute a court of arbitration for the decision of disputed cases.

The Imperial Insurance Office, the supreme authority in all disputed questions concerning both insurance against accidents and against old age and infirmity, combines the functions of organisation with those of administration, and thus avoids the difficulties which would be likely to result from a difference of authorities. It consists of a president and 33 permanent members nominated by the Emperor at the instance of the Federal Council and holding office for life. There are besides four members chosen by the Federal Council and holding office for four years, two representatives of employers chosen by the employers' trade associations under the Accident Insurance Law, two for agricultural associations, and two for those of seamen, whilst a similar number of workmen's representatives are elected for the three classes of associations. These twelve representatives have thirty deputies. The duties of the office consist for the most part in drawing up regulations to supplement the general provisions of the Act, in interpreting doubtful clauses, deciding appeals, and publishing statistics. Its decision is final in all cases excepting refusal to certify the rules of an insurance association, when an appeal can be made to the Federal Council.(1)

(iv.) Benefits.

The benefits secured to the insured persons include an allowance during invalidity and old age, and in the case of persons not subject to the Sick Insurance Laws medical care during sickness with a view to preventing permanent invalidity. The administrators of the Old Age and Invalidity law may require the sick insurance funds to provide more extensive aid for all subscribers to those funds; but in that case they must be prepared to meet at least half of the cost. Any subscriber refusing to submit to the precautionary measures prescribed by the Old Age and Invalidity Insurance institutes loses his claim to an invalid allowance, if his illness results in permanent infirmity. In the event of the death of a subscriber before he becomes entitled to either the invalid or old-age pension, his widow or children under fifteen years of age may claim the return of all premiums paid by the deceased himself provided that those payments have extended over a term of five years. The same claim is allowed in the case of a woman who marries before she becomes entitled to a pension; but the insurance office does not in either case return the contributions which have been paid by the employers. The allowances to insured persons, whether in old age or in invalidity, are in the great majority of cases paid in money only; an exception to this rule may be made by local statute, where wages are as a rule paid in kind, as in the case of agricultural and forest labourers. For insurance purposes all German workmen are divided into four wage classes, those earning less than 350 marks a year, those earning from 350 to 550 marks, those earning from 550 to 850 marks, and those whose annual earnings exceed 850 marks. The average wage is put at 300 marks in Class I., 500 marks in Class II., 720 marks in Class III., and 960 marks in Class IV., and the premiums payable by the insured persons are correspondingly graduated (*see* below). To obtain an invalid pension it is necessary to have been a subscriber to the fund for five contributory years, a contributory year being reckoned as 47 weeks, leaving a margin of five weeks for want of employment and similar contingencies. The term of subscription for an old-age pension is put at thirty contributory years, but the payments may be to a certain extent intermittent in either case.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 598, Art., "Invaliditats und Altersversicherung," v. Woedtke, vol., V. p. 407, Art., "Reichsversicherungsamt," Bödiker. Bosse und v. Woedtke. "Invaliditats und Altersversicherung," 1891, pp. 132-9. Spender, "The State and Pensions in Old Age," 1892, pp. 78-80.

No attention is paid to intervals due to military service or to illness for which the patient is not directly responsible, but if the insured person fails for any other cause to make at least forty-seven contributions in four consecutive calendar years his right to a pension is forfeited and can only be recovered by a subsequent contribution for five years instead of four. By paying a premium in each week of the calendar year the insured person may materially diminish the period which must elapse before he is entitled to a pension, since the contributory years may be reckoned consecutively; the five years required for the invalid pension may be thus reduced to four years and twenty-seven weeks, or just over four and a half years, and the thirty years for the old-age pension to twenty-seven years and six weeks. Qualification for an old-age pension does not, however, remove the obligation to insurance, since the old-age pension is regarded merely "as an addition to wages." A workman who has made the necessary payments begins to receive this allowance as soon as he has completed his seventieth year; but unless he is totally unable to work, and therefore qualified for an invalid pension, he must continue to pay the premium required in the wage class to which he belongs. An invalid pension may be granted at any age, provided that the necessary payments have been made, and that the illness is not self caused; but the insurance institute must be further convinced that the disability is genuine and that it extends to any kind of work, not only to the special trade of the individual. Clearly, therefore, this disability is likely to be difficult of proof, and complaints have been made by the Socialist Deputies to the Reichstag that invalid pensions have as yet been scarcely ever granted. Statistics up to June 1892 give the number of old-age pensions granted at once as about 77·16 per cent of those claimed, whilst in the case of invalids only about 28·15 per cent. of the claims were granted immediately. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in view of the probable increase of malingering it is necessary to observe the utmost precaution. An invalid pension already granted may be afterwards withdrawn, if any change takes place in the circumstances of the recipient, which appears likely to modify his total disability to work. Illness induced by an accident only constitutes a claim to an invalid pension, if the sufferer is not already entitled to an allowance under the Accident Insurance Law. Invalidity is further defined as inability to earn one-third of the average wages of the class to which the workman has belonged for the five previous contributory years, though this definition does not remove the difficulty of establishing such invalidity.

As has been already stated the amount of the pension payable whether in invalidity or in old age varies according to the premiums paid by the person insured, and these again vary according to the wage-class to which he belongs. As finally constituted the invalid pensions consists of a fixed sum of 50 marks paid by the State, and a fixed contribution of 60 marks paid by the district insurance institute, augmented by a weekly proportion of the premiums paid by the person insured for the whole time during which he has contributed. This proportion is calculated as follows:—

In Class I. 2 pf. or about ½*d.* a week.
,, II. 6 pf. or about ¾*d.* a week.
,, III. 9 pf or about 1*d.* a week.
,, IV. 13 pf. or about 1½*d.* a week.

Thus if a workman has remained entirely in one wage class the lowest invalid pension, to which he could be entitled after five contributory years, would be reckoned for each wage class as follows:

Class I. 50 M = 60 M + 2 pf. × 47 × 5 = 114·70 marks.
Class II. 50 M + 60 M + 6 pf. × 47 × 5 = 124·10 marks.
Class III. 50 M + 60 M + 9 pf. × 47 × 5 = 131·15 marks.
Class IV. 50 M + 60 M + 13 pf. × 47 × 5 = 140·55 marks.

The subjoined table gives the annual allowances in English money after contributory periods varying from five to fifty years:—

—	Class I.	Class II.	Class III.	Class IV.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
After 5 years	5 14 8½	6 4 1½	6 11 1½	7 0 3
10 ,,	5 19 4½	6 18 2½	7 12 3½	8 11 1½
20 ,,	6 8 9½	8 6 4½	9 14 7½	11 12 2½
30 ,,	6 18 2½	9 14 7½	11 16 10½	14 13 3½
40 ,,	7 7 7½	11 2 9½	13 19 2½	17 14 4½
50 ,,	7 17 0	12 11 0	16 1 6	20 15 6

If during the period preceding invalidity the workman has been in various wage classes, his pension will receive a corresponding increase. Thus, for example, a workman who has paid 150 contributions whilst in Class I., 130 in Class II., 60 in Class III., and 10 in Class IV. would receive 50 m. + 60 m. + 150 × 2 pf. + 130 × 6 pf. + 60 × 9 pf. + 10 × 13 pf. = 127·50 marks or 6*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* For the old-age pensions the State contribution is the same; the insurance institutes, however, contribute no fixed sum, but a proportion only of the contributions paid during those 1,410 weeks (30 years of 47 weeks each) in which the workman has been gaining the highest wages. Any contributory period beyond 1,410 weeks is disregarded. This proportion is regulated as follows:—

In Class I. 4 pf. or about ½*d.* a week.
In Class II. 6 pf. or about ¾*d.* a week.
In Class III. 8 pf. or about 1*d.* a week.
In Class IV. 10 pf. or about 1¼*d.* a week.

Thus the total amount obtainable in each separate class would amount to:—

In Class I. 50 m. + 4 pf. × 1,410 = 106·40 = 5*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*
,, II. 50 m. + 6 pf. × 1,410 = 134·60 = 6*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*
,, III. 50 m. + 8 pf. × 1,410 = 162·80 = 8*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.*
,, IV. 50 m. + 10 pf. × 1,410 = 191·00 = 9*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.*

In almost every individual case the pension received will fall between one or other of these classes, but 5*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* and 9*l.* 11*s.* represent the extreme limits of the annual allowance. This is not regarded by the framers of the law as representing a competence, since "it was never the intention of the Act to provide aged "and invalid persons with a sufficient income for in-"dependent livelihood, but simply to aid them by an "augmentation to any other provision or assistance they "might possess or be able to secure." The Old-Age and Invalid Insurance Law cannot, therefore, in any way obviate the necessity for some public provision for the needy, though a longer trial may, perhaps, diminish the burden hitherto thrown upon the poor-law administration. An incidental confirmation of the inadequacy of the pensions is given in the letter of an Alsace employer quoted by Mr. Spender, which states that "workmen would come much worse off under the "new pension scheme than formerly, if employers were "to make no more than the legal contribution to work-"men's pensions." Further, it must be noted that a provision for old age which does not come into effect until after the completion of the seventieth year, appears to the working classes a benefit too long deferred to possess any special attraction. The framers of the law clearly did not anticipate that any large number of annuitants would be found other than those totally unable to work, since they calculated that 96 per cent. of the cost of insurance must be devoted to a provision for the totally disabled and only 4 per cent. to any provision for those over seventy years of age but still able to work. The proportion, therefore, of annuitants able to supplement their allowance to any appreciable extent by their own exertions would according to this calculation be excessively small as compared with those who must rely upon a further provision from either private or public sources. Experience has, however, shown that the number of claimants for old-age pensions exceed the original estimate. (1)

(v.) Constitution of funds.

The funds necessary to meet the extensive obligations involved in the insurance of eleven million persons are derived by the employers, from the employed and from the State. The State subsidy of 50 marks to every pension is intended to be temporary, and to tide over the inevitable difficulty arising from the immediate introduction of a system of insurance, which does not restrict its benefits to the rising generation. It has been calculated that a period of 80 years must elapse before a balance can be struck between the number of allowances payable and the capital accumulated for liabilities. The State subsidy, which was estimated at 320,000*l.* in the first year, rising to 3,450,000*l.* in the 80th year, is then to be gradually extinguished, but there seems little security for anticipating that the whole burden of the allowances, which, according to the estimates, will have then reached 12,520,000*l.*, can be borne by the persons insured and their employers. Still it was the intention of the framers of the law that the scheme should ultimately be self-supporting. The premiums payable by employers and employed in equal shares were fixed for the first ten years by the law; they are to be re-adjusted at the end of that period by each insurance institute, and subsequent re-adjustments are to take place every five years. The charges levied must be assessed so as to cover the costs of administration, provide a reserve fund, meet the expense likely to arise from the repayment of contributions, and secure the payment by the insurance institutes of their share of the allowances which will in all probability require to be granted during the period in question. For the first ten years the weekly premiums were fixed at:—

Class I. 14 pf., or about 1½*d.* } Half from the
Class II. 20 pf., or about 2*d.* } employer and
Class III. 24 pf., or about 2½*d.* } half from the
Class IV. 30 pf., or about 3*d.* } insured.

The highest rate of contribution after the lapse of 80 years has been estimated as not exceeding—

2½*d.* in Class I.
4*d.* in Class II.
6*d.* in Class III.
7½*d.* in Class IV.

The sums necessary to provide the reserve fund are to be so fixed for the first contributory period as to prove equivalent at its close to one-fifth of the estimated capital needful to supply the payment of the probable allowances that will fall due from the insurance institutes during that term. Any deficiency in the reserve fund at the end of the first period must be met in the ensuing contributory period, and any special institute may frame a bye-law determining that the reserve fund shall be increased to twice the amount prescribed by the Act. The rate of interest on the reserve fund is calculated at 3½ per cent., but it has been pointed out by critics of the scheme that though this is at present a fair estimate of the rate obtainable on good security "as the capital accumulated under the law increases and additional purchases of stock . . . require to be made, the price . . . will successively rise, and the rate of interest obtained will consequently diminish." This consideration must to a certain extent modify the estimate of the period at which the reserve fund will have attained the necessary level. All calculations made as to the probable amount of invalidity and the probable mortality before the age of 70 has been reached are based upon Behm's tables relating to railway workers, as compared with the invalidity statistics for different occupations included in the census of occupations for 1882. The effect of this method of calculation will be considered below. (1)

(vi.) Administration.

The payment of the contributions due from the employers and the employed is effected by a system of affixing special stamps to a receipt card, divided into 47 spaces, one for each week in a contributory year. These cards bear the day and year of issue, and must be numbered in regular succession for every insured person. The stamps are affixed by the employer on the regular pay-days, and half their value is deducted from the workmen's wages. When full the cards are returned to the insurance institute by which they were issued to be preserved until required for the substantiation of a claim. The existing postal arrangements were utilised by the framers of the law with a view to diminishing the costs of administration, and the receipt cards and stamps can be obtained from the local post-offices. The second card purchased by an insured person must always bear a number and reference to the previous card, and in this way the history of each individual can be traced and the proportion due to him from each institute determined, in case he should have migrated from one district to another.

Severe penalties are enacted against employers or other persons convicted of putting special and private marks upon a card with a view to conveying information about the person insured. The insertion of these penal clauses was rendered necessary owing to the fears entertained by the workmen that facilities for detecting persons often engaged in strikes would be increased. When the pension becomes due and the claim has been substantiated the district post-office is

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 598, Art., "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," von Woedtke. Bosse und von Woedtke, "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," 1891, pp. 139–145. Spender "The State and Pensions in Old Age," 1892, pp. 80–97. Young, "The German Law of Insurance against Invalidity and Old Age," 1891, pp. 22–34. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. I., p. 376, vol. II., p. 299. The number of claims for old age pensions made up to the middle of 1893 was 245,013, of which 193,114 were admitted, 42,984 rejected, and 8,810 left undecided. The claims for invalid pensions were 59,247, of which 34,746 were admitted, 15,938 rejected, and 5,722 left undecided. *See* Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892–3, p. 541.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 598, Art., "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," v. Woedtke. Bosse und v. Woedtke, "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," 1891, pp. 145, 148. Young, "The German Law of Insurance against Invalidity and Old Age," 1891, pp. 17–20. Spender "The State and Pensions in Old Age," 1892, pp. 80–83.

notified of the fact and advances the allowance in specified instalments, recovering the amount at the end of the year from the insurance institutes. No allowance may legally be mortgaged or transferred to third parties, nor can it be seized for other claims than those of a wife and legitimate children, and those of communes or poor-law unions entitled to repayment (*see* p. 75). Persons claiming old-age and invalid pensions must give notice to the district authorities and produce the receipt cards and documents supporting their claim. If an invalid pension is claimed the local officials are required to examine into the case and to report to the district authorities, who finally transmit all the documents to the last insurance institute to which the applicant has contributed. The directors of this institute examine the claim and unless it is summarily rejected require the production of the former receipt cards before it can be finally established and the rate of allowance decided. An appeal lies with the petitioner to the arbitration court in respect of rejected claims or the settlement of the rate of allowance, and either party may appeal to the Imperial Insurance Office against the decision of the court of arbitration. The rate of allowance for non-contributory periods included in the period of probation is reckoned according to the rate for the second wage-class, and where these non-contributory periods are due to military service the State compensates the insurance institutes for the loss of the contributions.

Foreigners entitled to a pension may receive its capital value instead. (1)

(vii.) Transitory provisions.

In order to hasten the beneficial effects of the scheme, provision was made in the Act for extending its advantages immediately to persons whose age and circumstances would have qualified them for pensions had the scheme been already in force. It was laid down that persons who should become invalids within the first five, or septuagenarians within the first thirty years, after the Act came into force might be treated as having paid the proper contributions, provided that they had been employed in a trade or business included under the Act.

This employment must have continued five years before invalidity to qualify the person for an invalid pension, and for three years before the passing of the law to qualify him for an old-age pension. Wage class I. is the basis for reckoning the average rate of wages during the time by which the probationary period is shortened in the case of invalid pensions, whilst for old-age pensions the actual rate of wages is taken into consideration. In order to substantiate a claim under the transitory provisions the applicant must provide himself with certificates showing the duration of all employments since 1886, the duration of the interruptions, if any, and the causes of them, the rate of wages since 1888, the duration of every illness entailing incapacity to work and the duration of all military or naval service after January 1st, 1886. Persons claiming invalid pensions must also prove that they had paid the necessary premiums for the space of one year. (2)

(viii.) Present working of the scheme.

The Act has as yet been scarcely long enough in force to admit of the preparation of complete statistics, but the figures for 1891 and 1892 are given as far as possible in the following tables:—

INVALIDITY AND OLD AGE INSURANCE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE. *

TABLE Q 1.—TOTAL RESULT, 1892.

Organisation of insurance.	Number.	Persons insured.	Persons pensioned.	Receipts.	Expenses.	State Subsidies.	Funds.
				Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.
Insurance Institutes -	31	10,690,000	183,650	92,000,000	17,130,000	9,020,000	151,540,000
Special Organs - -	9	510,000	4,150	7,000,000	550,000	180,000	11,310,000
Total - -	40	11,200,000	187,800	99,000,000	17,680,000	9,200,000	162,850,000

* "The Workmen's Insurance of the German Empire," Chicago Guide, published by the Imperial Insurance Office. Berlin, 1893.

TABLE Q 2.—AVERAGE RESULT.

Financial Year.	Marks per Persons insured.					Yearly Pension.		Pensioners per 100 insured.			Pension per 100 Marks.	
	Contribution.	State subsidy.	Pension.	Management.	Funds.	Invalidity.	Old Age.	Invalidity.	Old Age.	Total.	Invalidity.	Old Age.
						Marks.	Marks.					
In the 1st year -	8·21	0·54	1·36	0·40	7·09	113·51	125·08	0·00	1·20	1·20	0·00	100·00
In the 50th year -	19·00	6·00	27·34	0·40	125·33	225·60	135·00	11·40	1·20	12·60	94·07	5·93

TABLE Q 3.—NORMAL PAYMENTS.

In the Wage Classes I.—IV. with yearly earnings.	I. Up to 350 Marks.	II. Up to 550 Marks.	III. Up to 850 Marks.	IV. Over 850 Marks.
	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.	Marks.
Weekly contribution payable half by employer and half by employed - - - - - -	0·14	0·20	0·24	0·30
Total contribution of the insured in the 5 waiting years -	16·45	23·50	28·20	35·25
Total contribution of the insured in 50 calendar years -	227·50	347·10	438·10	566·80
Yearly pension with State subsidy of 50 marks each:				
(*a.*) For invalids (persons unfit for work) after the 5 waiting years -	115·20	124·20	131·40	141·00
(*a.*) For invalids (persons unfit for work) after 50 calendar years -	162·00	266·40	344 40	448·20
(*b.*) For persons 70 years old, still able to work -	106·80	135·00	163·20	191·40

(1) Lexis, Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenchaften," vol. IV., p. 598, Art.: "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," v. Woedtke. Bosse und v. Woedtke, "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," 1891. Young, "The German Law of Insurance against Invalidity and Old Age," 1891, pp. 21-32. Spender, "The State and Pensions in Old Age," 1892, pp. 82-84.

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 598. Art., "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," v. Woedtke. Bosse und v. Woedtke, "Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung," 1891, pp. 57-161. Young, "The German Law of Insurance against Invalidity and Old Age," 1891, p. 32. Spender, "The State and Pensions in Old Age," 1892, pp. 82, 83.

TABLE Q 4.—SUMMARY OF RESULTS, 1891 and 1892.

Year.	Persons insured.	Persons relieved.	Receipts.			Expenses.			Accumulated Funds.	Relief per Case.	Charges per Person Insured.*
			Employers' Contributions.	Contributions of Employed.	Total from all sources.	Relief.	Costs of Administration.	Total of all kinds.			
1891 -	—	124,835	44,443,480	44,443,480	170,214,845	9,049,086	3,722,882	97,178,087	73,036,757	72·4	—
1892 -	11,200,000	187,800	47,375,000	47,375,000	108,200,000	22,400,000†	4,480,000	108,200,000	162,850,000	120	9

* Average amount paid in per head of insured. † This great increase is probably due to the fact that no invalid pensions were granted until 1892.

TABLE Q 5.—PROPORTIONATE COST OF ADMINISTRATION.

Year.	Percentage of total amount contributed by Employers and Insured.	Percentage of total amount paid in relief.	In Marks per head of Insured (*see* Table Q 2.)	Percentage of Costs per head of Insured to pension per head of insured (*see* Table Q 2.)
1891 - -	4·19	41·14	0·40	2·94
1892 - - -	4·72	20·00	- -	—
After 50 years - -	—	—	0·40	1·4

The first three of these tables are taken from the Guide "to the Insurance Laws" prepared by the Imperial Insurance Office for the Chicago Exhibition. Unfortunately no account is given of the methods employed in estimating the average result for the 50th year as stated in Table Q. 2. It is remarkable that no increase is anticipated in the proportionate cost of management in view of the facts illustrated by Table Q 4, that between 1891 and 1892 there was an absolute increase in the cost of management, and that that increase was relatively greater than the increase in the total amount contributed. On the other hand, according to Table Q 4, the costs of management show a proportionate decrease during the same period as compared with the total amount paid in relief. This result may perhaps be partially explained by the great increase in that amount in 1892, due to the fact that no invalid pensions were paid before November 1891; but it does not appear certain that this consideration would afford an adequate explanation of the fact that the increase in the amount paid in relief, as well as in the relief per case, was so much larger in proportion than that in the number of persons relieved. Table Q 4 presents some minor difficulties, as, for instance, the apparent decrease in the total receipts for 1892. This may be due, perhaps, to the adoption of a different method of estimating receipts; further the method adopted in 1892 in estimating the charges per person insured is not clear and receives no explanation in the guide from which the figures for 1892 are taken. But the main difficulty still consists in the anticipated stationary character, or even large proportionate decrease (see Tables Q 2 and Q 5) of the per capita costs of management. Table Q 2 estimates that from the first year to the fiftieth there will be a great increase in the contributions payable per head. This might be due either to increased cost of management, or to an increasing number of persons to be relieved, or to a great increase in the amount of the pension. Either alternative presents difficulties. Increased cost of management is *ex hypothesi* excluded, nevertheless, an increasing number of persons to be relieved could hardly exist side by side with stationary or diminishing costs, especially when the labour involved in re-adjusting contributions is taken into account. A great increase in the amount of the pension, unless met by a State subsidy, would impose a heavier proportionate burden upon succeeding generations, whereas the German scheme professes to adjust the burden equally for each generation and looks forward to the gradual extinction of the State subsidy.

However that may be, the increase both in the amount of the pensions and the contributions payable, indicated by Table Q 2, can scarcely be without an effect upon wages, which will require consideration. The percentages given in Table Q 5 are obtained from the figures in Tables Q 2 and Q 4, and can only be taken with the reservation which applies to the earlier tables and which arises from the impossibility of basing really instructive conclusions upon so short an experience, especially in ignorance of the methods whereby the average figures issued by the insurance officials are obtained.

(ix.) Difficulties incidental to the scheme.

Though it is still too early to pronounce any final judgment on the scheme as a whole, certain incidental difficulties, both of a financial and of an administrative character, become clear upon examination. In the first place doubts have been expressed as to the reliability of infirmity statistics based largely upon the experience of one industry, that of railway workers. Even if experience should confirm the value of the calculations made on this basis, it is clear that the degree of invalidity required by the law will be very difficult to forecast and will introduce an element of uncertainty. Nevertheless, as the conditions have to be assessed in advance so as to cover allowances and expenses of every kind, it will be absolutely necessary to make a fairly accurate estimate of probable liabilities. Further, even if the contributions can be satisfactorily adjusted, it is impossible to rely upon their regularity when this is liable to disturbance by sickness, military service, and lack of employment. Though the first two disturbing elements may admit of calculation beforehand, except in the contingency of a war, the same cannot be said of the third. Even if the non-contributory intervals are of short duration and are afterwards made up, the insurance institutes will of necessity suffer a loss in respect of interest, greater or less according to the period of life at which the interval occurs. Again it is admitted by the authors of the memorandum upon which the law was based, that the statistics available with regard to the probable invalidity or mortality of women are deficient, and they have, therefore, used the relative values ascertained for men in the case of women, though without giving any explanation of the grounds for this assumption. It has been calculated that the costs of management will not materially increase, but it is difficult to see the security for this expectation in view of the fact that an increasing number of persons insured, and of claimants for pensions, will entail increased labour upon the officials and a probable increase of staff. This probability seems strengthened by the consideration of the labour involved in the periodical readjustment of contributions. The administrative difficulties are scarcely less important than the financial.

In its present form the Act affords an almost endless number of opportunities for litigation, and the machinery provided appears needlessly cumbrous and expensive.* The individual insurer "may appeal "in the first instance against inclusion under the Act at "all, and if he loses his case in a lower court he may "take it to a higher. He may protest against the "calculations made from time to time on his insurance "cards, and here also he has the right of appeal. Or if "his claim to an allowance either for old age or infirmity

* During six months of 1893 no fewer than 1,824 cases came before the Imperial Insurance Office, in addition to 1,238 standing over from the previous year. *See* Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892-3, p. 531.

" is rejected by the Institute he may take his case to the " arbitration court, and once again both parties have a " legal right of revision in respect to the court's decision. " Disputes may arise not only between individuals and " the Insurance Institutes, but between the Institutes " and the Sick or Accident Insurance Societies provided " by previous legislation, and these also entail litigation. " Or finally, there may be conflicts between the " Insurance Institutes and the Poor Law authorities." Experience has already proved the danger of such exceptional facilities for litigation, and it seems probable that a simplification of procedure would be both advantageous and economical. Many districts have found themselves face to face with the practical difficulty involved in procuring the necessary staff of officials. Employers complain of the great strain upon their clerical staff occasioned by the system of stamp-sticking, and in the eastern provinces, where the duties connected with the issuing and booking up of the receipt cards fall upon persons holding honorary posts, great dissatisfaction is felt. It is regarded as probable that these honorary officials will have to be replaced by a professional bureaucracy, and in the face of this probable increase in an official class, already large, it seems impossible not to suppose that the cost of administration will be very largely increased. In view, also, of the increase in "malingering," already alluded to as one of the effects of the law, it is scarcely likely that the system of official surveillance will be relaxed. Indeed it has been proposed that special hospitals should be established for the supervision of doubtful cases. Actual storage room for the cards and documents constitutes another practical difficulty; in Berlin it has already been found necessary both to construct a special building and to enlarge it. But perhaps a more serious defect in the scheme, from the point of view of national insurance, consists in the fact that it excludes so large a proportion of the classes which constitute the chief burden upon the poor law. The scheme presupposes regular contributions extended over a lengthened period, which it seems impossible to expect from the large class of casual workers forming the lower strata of the population. It excludes married women and widows, yet the last are specially in need of some such provision, and in every country are largely in receipt of poor relief. Even to the classes which it reaches the benefit is comparatively slight, and the opinion seems to be widely expressed in Germany that as at present constituted "the pension " is too small, and the age of seventy too far advanced, " to make the scheme a really remedial measure for the " poverty of old age." (1)

(x.) Views of employers and of employed.

On the whole however, public opinion in Germany is in favour of giving the law a longer trial before passing a final judgment. Its repeal has been suggested to the Reichstag by the Liberal party, but they do not seem to have pressed the matter; and the Social Democrats, though regarding the provision afforded as grossly inadequate, are in favour of any measure which recognises the claim of members of the State to public support. Nevertheless a petition against the law in Bavaria received more than 250,000 signatures, including many Social Democrats. Amongst German employers complaints are very frequent that the burden imposed upon industry will be greater than it can bear; but on the other hand, a statement made in the Reichstag by a Conservative member that the employers' contributions were only 1 per cent of the wages paid in agricultural districts, and even less in industrial districts was allowed to pass unquestioned. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the class which really bears the burden of insurance. According to the statistics of the Imperial Insurance Office, published in the "Guide to the Chicago Exhibition" the total amount paid by employers towards the expenses of insurance against sickness, accidents, and old age and invalidity was 132,375,000 marks, and the total amount paid by the employed was 124,875,000 marks. The difference between these two sums is inconsiderable, but they appear rather to represent each party's legal share in the total contribution than what each actually contributes. In this connection, therefore, a statement made by a firm of Stuttgart manufacturers should be mentioned. "We pay the whole contribution " due from our workmen; the deduction of any part of " it so embitters the workpeople against the State pro- " vision and renders them so little sensible of its benefits " that it entirely neutralises the advantages of the law." The same employers urge an amalgation of the three forms of insurance, on the ground that the reduction in cost which they anticipate from the simplification of procedure, will be absolutely necessary, if the costs of production in manufacture are not to swallow up all the employers' profits. On the other hand, it is contended by the Social Democrats that the total cost of insurance falls upon the workmen, since besides their own contributions they bear the burden of the increased taxation upon commodities necessary to furnish the Imperial subsidy, whilst the employers indemnify themselves for their enforced contribution by reducing wages or by raising the price of the goods they produce. From this point of view the Social Democrats regard the Insurance Law as an unsatisfactory substitute for the Poor Law, which derived its funds to a greater extent from the upper and middle classes, and which provided larger allowances. It is not, however, possible to lay down any general proposition as to the attitude of employers towards the new legislation. It appears sufficiently clear that whilst many content themselves with contributing the legal minimum, cases are found in which the employers are ready to pay at a higher rate in order to ensure a fuller provision for their infirm and aged workmen; but it remains an open question whether in the course of time competition between employers will not tend to reduce all to the same level, and whether the enforced payment of compulsory contributions will not deter those, who would otherwise have been benevolently disposed, from making any private efforts for the good of their workpeople.

With regard to the general attitude of the employed it has already been characterised as one of distrust, if not of absolute hostility. According to Herr Bebel the law was received by the working classes with silent discontent, owing to the belief that it was a concession wrung from a reluctant Goverment. On the other hand, the unexpectedly large number of persons who have applied for old age pensions seems in some measure to contradict the gloomy view taken by Herr Bebel and his friends of the attitude of the working classes (1).

(xi.) Effect of the law upon wage and upon the cost of poor law administration.

The actual effect of the law upon the rate of wages is difficult to ascertain. The reports of the factory inspectors for Baden and Würtemberg contain statements to the effect that the recipients of pensions have suffered a reduction of wages. The inspector for the Danube and Black Forest district writes that "workmen over " seventy years of age, and in receipt of old age pensions, " were met with, still at work in certain large and small " factories, but for the most part with lower wages than " they received before the grant of a pension." Again the inspector for Baden states that "a sugar refinery " in Mannheim reduced the wages of an old man seventy- " one years of age from 2 marks to 1·50 marks as soon " as he received his pension. Thus his total income " suffered a slight reduction." Difficulties have arisen in connection with the insurance of seamen. It is stated that foreign sailors frequently refuse to allow the required deductions to be made from their wages and they are supported in this refusal by foreign authorities. It is also stated that these foreign seamen are seldom long enough in German employment to receive any return for their contributions, and that seamen in general betake themselves as a rule to other occupations before the age at which they can qualify for a pension. Consequently the Nordeutsche Lloyd and the German Hansa steamship companies have applied for an exemption of Lascars, Chinamen and other coloured seamen from the insurance law, but in spite of their statement that owing to climatic considerations there can be little or no competition between these men and German sailors, the fear has been expressed that the removal of the burden of insurance in the case of the former will have a prejudicial effect upon the employment and rate of wages of the latter. Dr. Schoenfeld believes that the effect of the insurance laws will be to reduce the number of strikes, since the workmen will be unwilling to face the loss involved in suspending the payment of contributions, but this view has not as yet, been confirmed by facts.

The effect of the new insurance laws upon the costs of poor law administration is still uncertain. A Cologne Report for 1890–1 states that the poor law costs have rather increased than diminished, owing to the amount of work entailed in ascertaining the claims which each applicant for poor law relief may have upon the insurance funds. This is rendered the more difficult by the multiplication of funds and of authorities with the

(1) Young "The German Law of Insurance against Invalidity and Old Age," 1891, pp. 34-61. Spender "The State and Pensions in Old Age," 1892, pp. 86-97, Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. I, p. 460.

(1) Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, 1891-3, Vol. I, pp. 96, 220, 400; Vol. II., p. 299. "Neue Zeit," Sept. 1889, article by Bebel. Forum September 1893. Art. by J. Graham Brooks, p. 124.

inevitable result of increasing the expense. In Leipzig, for instance, the necessity for adjusting the relative liabilities of the sick funds and the old age and invalid insurance institutes has increased the cost of sick insurance by 2 per cent. On the other hand, the Berlin poor law authorities announce an annual saving of 8,200 marks since the Insurance Laws came into effect, against which statement must be placed the fact that in Berlin, as in the other large cities of Germany, the work of adjusting conflicting claims is simplified by the comparatively small number of persons who attain the age necessary for an old age pension. Still allowing for all disadvantages Mr. Graham Brooks, who has made a special study of the whole question, is of opinion that the best results are to be anticipated from the diffusion of accurate knowledge by means of the publication of insurance statistics, and the increased care of the sick and injured which it will be in the interests of employers to promote.(1).

C.—Poor Law Administration.

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Dr. Freund of the Imperial Insurance Office, Berlin, has summed up both the direction and the degree in which the poor law administration in Germany has to supplement the action of the Insurance Laws. "Both the indoor and outdoor relief of the sick is especially affected by the Sick Insurance Law, the maintenance of widows and orphans by the Accident Insurance Law, and the granting of allowances by the old Age and Invalidity Law. The full benefit of these laws can, however, only be felt, if the results of the insurance are adequate and if the organisation works with certainty and rapidity. In both these respects there are manifest defects. For instance, in sick insurance, medical aid and remedies are as a rule present in due proportion, but it is otherwise with sick allowances. Half the average wages may be enough for unmarried workmen, but not for those who have a wife and children. If the sick man is taken to the hospital, his family receive only a quarter of his daily wages; in most cases, of course, the Poor Law must supply their need; and so, too, with regard to the duration of the relief; in many cases it does not exceed the legal minimum of thirteen weeks, and the Poor Law must again step in. So, too, with insurance against old age and invalidity; the recipients of old age pensions often remain either wholly or partially chargeable to the poor law funds, because of the inadequacy of their pensions. According to the latest statistics of the Berlin poor law administration, 88 out of 449 holders of pensions are in receipt of poor relief...But poor relief must not only supplement insurance, it must often replace it, and this because of the imperfect organisation of the insurance funds. The procedure in insurance against accidents is far too cumbrous for prompt action...so that in many cases the Poor Law must intervene...These evils detract greatly from the social effect of the laws. How does the workman gain, if he is forced to take the degrading steps necessary to obtain poor relief, and to leave it to the poor law authorities to obtain compensation from the insurance funds?" The necessity, therefore, of a system of poor relief is scarcely touched by the passage of the Insurance Laws; it remains only to consider the nature of the relief afforded (2).

(b.) Historical development of the German Poor Law system.

Before the passing of the law of free migration (*Freizügigkeit*) by the North German Confederation in 1867, each State possessed the right of expelling destitute persons from its territory, though by the Eisenach Agreement of 1853 the State was obliged to relieve destitute persons requiring medical assistance until they were fit to be removed to their place of domicile. But by the Act of 1867 every German has the right to reside where he pleases within the German dominions, and "though permission to settle may be refused in "certain cases, as, for instance, to confirmed beggars and "vagrants, possible or prospective poverty is not to be "considered a bar to settlement." The conditions under which a settlement could be gained were still different in the different States, and to remedy this want of uniformity the Law of Relief Domicile (*Gesetz über den Unterstützungs-wohnsitz*) was passed in 1870. It provided that every German should be treated alike, so far as poor relief was concerned, by every State in the German dominions, and established general principles as to settlement and chargeability, whilst leaving every State free to adopt any system of poor law administration it pleased. The areas of chargeability and administration are the local unions (*Ortsarmenverbände*), consisting of one or more communes or manors (*Gutsbezirke*), or of combinations of communes or manors, and the district unions (*Landarmenverbande*), including either the whole State or an area coincident with a number of local unions and fixed by the Government of the State. Every destitute person who has no settlement in a local union is chargeable to the district union, and the Government of each State must decide as to the financial relations between the two, and as to the conditions under which they are to relieve destitute persons. "Settlement may be gained in any union by residence, "by inheritance, or by marriage. The period for obtaining "a settlement by residence is fixed at two years. The "residence must be continuous and voluntary, and must "be after the age of twenty-four. A settlement is lost by "two years' absence under the same conditions. Widows, "deserted wives, and women living separate from their "husbands, can obtain a settlement by residence, provided "that they are able-bodied. Wives take the settlement "of their husbands, legitimate children that of their "father, and illegitimate that of their mother." Every destitute German must be relieved by the union in which he becomes destitute until such time as he can be removed to the union to which he belongs. The relief which is given may be recovered according to a fixed scale from the union of his settlement. Each State has its own supplementary law; but the want of administrative uniformity thus engendered, and the absence of any central control, have given rise to a desire for further reform. "Greater uniformity of administration "with better statistics, and some method of putting the "results of experience at the service of the poor law "authorities," are the chief desiderata, and many practical administrators are of opinion that the power of removal should be abolished, both as the logical consequence of the law of free residence and with a view of avoiding the labour involved in investigating the settlement of paupers (1).

(c.) The Elberfeld system.

Amongst the various systems of poor law dministration in Germany, the system which takes its name from the town of Elberfeld has attracted the most attention and has served as a model for the poor law administration of many of the largest cities, including Berlin. A similar system was brought into operation in Hamburg in 1788, but it is in Elberfeld that it has been brought to the greatest perfection. Here it has been of gradual growth. In 1800 the first attempt was made at poor law organisation. Six administrators of poor relief were appointed and in the next year the number was raised to 12. Their duties involved not only investigation and the distribution of relief, but also the collection of the voluntary contributions which were the only available funds. With these they purchased a building in which they gave employment to the able-bodied poor. Written reports (*Abhörbogen*) were kept of each case and the labour involved obliged them to appoint visitors (*Pfleger*), 32 in number, to visit the 32 sections into which the town was divided. With the growth of the population the average number of cases intrusted to each visitor rose from 11 in 1802 to from 40 to 50 in 1841. During the next few years, therefore, 30 more visitors were appointed. The duties of the visitors were limited to investigation, the power of granting relief being entirely confined to the 12 administrators, half of whom were concerned with indoor and half with outdoor relief. Up to 1843 the system of voluntary contributions had continued, and the deficiencies, which were of frequent occurrence, were made up by the municipal authorities. In this year the town council decided to raise the funds required for poor relief by means of taxation, but the disproportionate increase in the number of paupers and the failure of crops combined, with an epidemic of cholera, to produce a state of pauperism with which the authorities appeared powerless to deal. An attempt was made to hand over the relief of the poor to the religious communities, but as this proved unsatisfactory the system still in existence was organised in 1854. The poor law administration consist of nine members, chosen by the Municipal Council and including the Mayor (*Oberbürgermeister,*) four members of the council and four citizens. The town is divided into 26 districts and each district into 14 sections. Every district has an overseer (*Bezirksvor steher*) and every section a visitor (*Armenpfleger*); these

(1) Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, 1891-3. Vol. I. pp. 27, 42, 256, 281. Vol. II., p. 349. Schoenfeld "Les Principes Rationnels de l'Assurance Ouvriere," 1893, p. 31. Forum September, 1893, Art. by Graham Brooks.
(2) Freund. "Address to the Committee appointed to consider the effect of the new social legislation upon Poor Law and Poor Relief."

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 842, Art: "Armengesetzgebung in Deutschland," Krech. Elberfe'd Poor Law System, Report of English Commissioners, 1888, pp. 3-11. Reitzenstein, "L'Assistance des Etrangers en Allemagne," 1893, pp. 6-24.

offices are compulsory and unpaid, the only grounds of exemption being permanent illness, business involving frequent or long-continued absence age exceeding sixty years, holding another public office, or any legal or valid excuse recognised as such by the municipal assembly. Full written reports are made of every case and preserved for a period of two years, when a new report is made out and attached to the old one, thus giving a complete history of the case for four years. District meetings take place fortnightly and the minutes are preserved at the head office, which is thus kept informed of all relief granted. The head committee also meets every fortnight, and its meetings are attended by the 26 overseers and the visitors of the particular district under revision on that occasion. The district overseers receive the money which it is estimated that they will require for the ensuing fortnight, and the cases for one district are thus gone through, so that the chairman, who has previously made himself acquainted with them, may make any remarks which he thinks desirable. The scale of relief is as follows :—

s.	*d.*	
3	0	for head of family.
2	0	for his wife.
2	0	for child 15 years and over.
1	9½	for child 10 to 15 years.
1	3⅕	for child 5 to 10 years.
1	1¼	for child 1 to 5 years.
	9¾	for child under 1 year.
12	0	Total for above family, and 3*s.* for a single person.

This scale represents the maximum allowance and any earnings are deducted from it; only two-thirds of the wages of children are taken into account on the grounds that children at work ought to be well fed. The visitors are also directed to exert themselves to the utmost to find relations who ought to maintain any of the applicants for relief, and to obtain even the smallest weekly sums from such relations. Thus, for instance, the five children of a parent applying for relief were assessed at the rate of 1*s.* 3½d., 9*d.*, 3*d.*, 1½*d.* and 1½d. respectively. Relief is given as a rule in money, but it may be given in kind; indeed the individual visitors are allowed considerable discretion, and the poor law funds may be used for any form of adequate relief with a view to the prevention of pauperism. Persons receiving relief from the religious bodies are not further relieved by the poor law administrators. The whole system is based upon the principle of individual care, involving close personal intercourse between the administrator and the recipient of relief. To this end each visitor is, as a rule, entrusted with no more than two cases at a time, and it is contended that the result is a great saving in the amount expended and a suitable adjustment of the relief afforded to the necessities of the case. It must however, be pointed out that Elberfeld is peculiarly adapted for such a system, since the poor are distributed throughout the town and the total population does not greatly exceed 100,000. Where, as in London or Berlin, there is a wide separation between the quarters in which rich and poor reside, it is obvious that the system will be more difficult of application (see p. 88). But besides providing for outdoor relief, a large proportion of the help afforded to the poor in Elberfeld is given by admission to the various institutions maintained by the municipality. "The proportion of this indoor relief (*Geschlossene Armenpflege*) is larger than the average in England, and larger even than the proportion in the manufacturing districts." The municipal establishments include the poor house (*Armenhaus*), schools for orphan and deserted children, the town hospital, and a shelter for the homeless (*Haus für die Obdachlose*). The poorhouse in Germany must be distinguished from the workhouse (*Arbeitshaus*); this is always a house of correction under police control to which beggars, idlers, drunkards, and women of bad character are committed for a definite term of imprisonment by the courts. In some unions these workhouses are made subsidiary to the purely poor law administration in dealing with able-bodied applicants for relief, but as a rule the "workhouse test," as applied in England, is not in use in Germany. The poorhouse is intended for the admission of old and infirm persons, or single persons who cannot well be cared for outside. The institution has nothing of a penal character, the inmates are largely sick persons or imbeciles, and such as are able-bodied are allowed to work for private employers, who pay their wages to the credit of the poor law administrators. In some towns houseless and destitute families are dealt with by the police, even though they have not brought themselves within the scope of the laws against begging and vagrancy, but in Elberfeld and elsewhere a shelter is provided for them by the poor law authorities in return for which each inmate is expected to do two hours work.

(*d.*) Statistical results of the system in Elberfeld.

The general results of the Elberfeld system appear from the following tables :—

TABLE R. 1.

Year.	Expenditure.		Receipts.		Remainder to be covered by Communal Rates.		No. of Population.	Communal Rates payable per Head of Population.	
	Marks	Pf.	Marks	Pf.				Marks	Pf.
1856	204,296	31	37,635	39	166,660	92	51,632	3	23
1857	186,107	46	42,017	43	144,090	03	52,590	2	74
1858	226,387	64	42,518	91	183,868	73	53,375	3	44
1859	214,398	86	41,714	05	171,195	66	53,495	3	20
1860	214,025	94	47,429	16	163,925	80	54,002	3	03
1861	221,192	96	51,187	73	168,051	98	56,277	2	99
1862	224,139	66	55,460	05	168,529	61	57,937	2	91
1863	218,294	04	56,887	82	161,406	22	59,774	2	50
1864	254,834	81	73,559	48	179,686	96	61,995	2	90
1865	258,352	30	86,611	21	163,909	61	63,686	2	58
1866	274,321	94	80,753	61	187,696	12	64,963	2	89
1867	295,567	02	98,672	34	188,340	03	65,321	2	88
1868	288,300	66	108,900	02	171,831	90	67,000	2	57
1869	266,532	19	118,035	75	143,609	03	71,000	2	03
1870	292,481	01	111,692	26	165,298	98	52,000	2	43
1871	314,083	24	121,496	14	186,625	59	51,775	2	60
1872	325,900	96	130,204	99	188,646	12	54,000	2	55
1873	345,599	35	138,121	58	201,629	18	78,000	2	58
1874	387,563	92	157,265	42	223,975	30	81,000	2	76
1875	385,568	54	168,939	79	206,765	71	80,599	2	57
1876	393,569	25	189,559	95	197,506	41	83,600	2	36
1877–78	418,051	42	219,597	63	197,850	44	86,100	2	30
1878–79	454,211	86	287,814	79	166,309	95	90,000	1	85
1879–80	469,319	54	235,138	40	231,829	47	93,530	2	48
1880–81	519,792	53	240,912	66	277,816	46	93,600	2	97
1881–82	495,968	42	256,352	18	239,468	24	96,600	2	50
1882–83	496,820	66	272,298	30	223,763	—	99,100	2	26
1883–84	507,548	90	275,348	42	231,568	08	101,000	2	29
1884–85	527,334	03	274,006	14	249,034	29	103,200	2	41
1885–86	536,274	30	280,109	04	253,373	07	106,700	2	37
1886–87	539,964	—	297,589	98	234,556	44	109,600	2	14
1887–88	567,309	99	318,322	13	247,145	94	113,000	2	19

(1) Lexis "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. III., p. 227, Art: "Elberfelder Armenpflege System," Munsterberg, "Elberfeld Poor Law System," Report of English Commissioners 1888."

TABLE R. 2.

Year.	Average Number of Cases granted out-door relief.	Number of the Population.	Proportion of cases per 1,000 Inhabitants.
1855	902	51,259	17·6
1856	738	51,632	14·3
1857	615	52,590	11·7
1858	768	53,375	14·4
1859	651	53,495	12·2
1860	618	54,002	11·4
1861	598	56,277	10·6
1862	568	57,937	9·8
1863	565	59,774	9·1
1864	531	61,995	8·6
1865	545	63,686	8·9
1866	591	64,963	9·1
1867	629	65,321	9·6
1868	584	67,000	8·7
1869	458	71,000	6·5
1870	493	72,000	6·8
1871	489	71,775	6·8
1872	450	74,000	6·1
1873	437	78,000	5·6
1874	469	80,000	5·9
1875	476	80,599	5·9
1876	526	83,600	6·3
1877–78	675	86,100	7·8
1878–79	736	90,000	8·2
1879–80	769	93,530	8·2
1880–81	830	93,600	8·9
1881–82	843	96,600	8·8
1882–83	829	99,100	8·4
1883–84	867	101,000	8·6
1884–85	826	103,200	8·0
1885–86	839	106,700	7·9
1886–87	841	109,600	7·7
1887–88	840	113,000	7·4
1888–89	844	119,200	7·1

e. Application of the system to other towns.

The financial results of the Elberfeld administration attracted the attention of the poor law authorities in other cities, in particular Duisburg, Barmen, Krefeld, Essen, and Cologne. Dresden, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Königsberg, Frankfurt-am-Main, Stuttgart, Bremen, Cassel, Posen, Dortmund, Bochum, and Freiburg-in-Breslau have a similar system, as well as the smaller towns of Landsberg, Gotha, Stendal, Schwelm, and Hamm. In Altona and in Berlin itself slight differences exist, but on the whole the system adopted is that of personal investigation specially associated with Elberfeld, whilst in Hamburg a similar method of procedure has been in use for upwards of a century. Altona is specially interesting because the Elberfeld system is here supplemented by a workhouse in the English sense, used as a test for applicants whose cases are unsatisfactory, and as a refuge for the entirely destitute. All applications for relief must here be made in the first instance to the overseer, and he selects any visitor in the district to make inquiry as to the case. The overseers are themselves selected from among the most experienced visitors. Orphan children are boarded out instead of being kept in special schools as at Elberfeld, and the infirm and aged are provided for in two poorhouses. The workhouse supplies the place of a shelter for the homeless, and is situated on a farm outside the town. In Bremen, besides the workhouse under police control, there is also a voluntary workhouse (*Freiwilliges Arbeitshaus*) started "to enable "ablebodied people who apply for relief to earn their "own living, and to compel the idle to labour." The poor who work in it are paid wages for piece-work, and, as they are not counted as paupers, they can retain their civil rights. The wages are fixed somewhat lower than the earnings of ordinary labourers in private employment, but no information is given as to the effect of this upon the general rate of wages. In Berlin, as at Elberfeld, the governing body in poor law matters is closely identified with the municipality. The city is divided into 213 poor law districts of such a size that the monthly expenditure for poor relief in each district is not more than from 50*l.* to 75*l.* Each district is under a committee, consisting of the overseer of the municipal ward (*Stadtbezirk*), certain members of the town council, and from six to 20 almoners or visitors nominated for six years by the council. As in Elberfeld the office of almoner is compulsory and unpaid. Recipients of relief are divided into three classes: permanent cases, women who receive an allowance for the maintenance of their children, and casual cases. Relief is sometimes given to the permanent cases for a year, contrary to the Elberfeld principle of restricting it to a fortnight, but in these cases it is fixed at first at the low rate of 3*s.* a month, and may be withdrawn with any alteration in the circumstances of the patient. Homeless and destitute cases are sent to the refuge for the homeless (*Asyl für Obdachlose*), where they are kept for five days; if before the end of that period they have not provided themselves with lodgings and work, they may be proceeded against under the Penal Code. There is no direct evidence available as to the extent to which this provision is enforced, but the convictions for vagrancy and cognate offences are very numerous. The available statistics of pauperism in Berlin do not point to any great success in the administration of the poor law, but they were drawn up as long ago as 1884–85. They show that whereas the population of Berlin had increased in rather more than 10 years by 37·2 per cent., the number of permanent paupers had increased 83·1 per cent., the number of children for whom allowances were paid 76·9 per cent., and the cases of extra relief 128·8 per cent. The amount paid in relief increased in about the same proportion (1).

f. Connexion of poor law administration with charitable societies.

The distinction between poor law administration and charitable work is much less marked in Germany than in England. The Elberfeld regulations state the proper objects of poor law administration to be "the "development of a 'care of the poor' in their own "homes, the individualising of the work, which assigns "to each almoner as limited an area as possible, the "endeavour to help without arresting the active "impulse to self-support, and, as a consequence, the "accurate and continually repeated scrutiny of the "wants of the applicant, and constant test of his "powers of work." In Germany, therefore, the distress, which the poor law relieves, is regarded as an abnormal condition to be cured by this agency and by the method of individualising; in England such a view seems to belong rather to charitable institutions. In spite, however, of the far-reaching character of the German poor law administration, there still remain fields of enterprise for private benevolence. No woman can in Germany be a visitor under the poor law, or take any official part in poor law administration. Accordingly, the women of Germany have formed themselves into associations (*Frauenvereine*) for carrying on such work as falls especially within their province, the care of the sick, the education of orphan children, and the management of various institutions for the benefit of women. The Frauenverein of Elberfeld is described as "an association of ladies of all classes and confessions, "which has for its object to help and supplement the "public care of the poor. According to its means it "grants assistance in cases of extraordinary and urgent "need in which the town administration cannot inter-"vene. It aims especially at preventing pauperism "by well-devised plans and promoting self-support and "civil independence. It also represses mendicity." For purposes of administration it adopts the poor law districts, and appoints a woman overseer for each district, with assistant women visitors. The committee of management consists of these overseers and their chairman, a woman, together with four members of the poor law administration. The association has established a crèche, and an invalid kitchen; it also grants aid in money or in articles of clothing and bedding to persons in need, and has expended considerable sums on medical treatment and change of air for sick children. Similar associations exist all over Germany. During the wars with Austria and with France they organised a band of nurses, and sent medical aid to the wounded. Some of the associations are active in training nurses, others undertake the care of boarded-out children, the supervision of kindergartens, the training of kindergarten teachers, and the management of homes, hospitals, and other institutions. There are also charitable societies composed of men as well as women, which assist the work of the poor law. Chief amongst these are the society for the care of the poor and for charity (*Verein für Armenpflege and Wohlthätigkeit*), the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism (*Verein gegen Verarmung*) in Berlin, and various societies in connexion with the different churches. The first of

(1) Lexis "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," Vol. III., p. 227. Art.: "Elberfelder Armenpflege system," Münsterberg. Elberfeld Poor Law System, Report of English Commissioners, 1888, pp. 30-40, 118-137.

these societies holds congresses to consider questions connected with poor relief, and decided at the congress held in 1892 that a closer connexion was needed between official and non-official relief. In 1893 it issued a circular to the various poor law unions asking for returns which should enable it to decide whether the recent insurance legislation has lightened the burden of poor law administration, or whether this relief has not been counterbalanced by the quickened energy of the poor law administrators, and the increased aid which they grant. The aid given by private benevolence to the unemployed is treated below under the heading of "Workmen's Colonies."(1)

g. General criticism of poor law system.

There is a strong feeling in Germany that in the country districts especially, some reform is required in the poor law organisation. A report drawn up by the Society for the Care of the Poor and for Charity, states that there is a consensus of opinion in favour of the view that the real ground of the inadequate relief afforded in country districts is to be found in the smallness of the areas required to be self-supporting. It is easy to understand that poor law districts, containing only a hundred or a few hundred souls readily succumb to the temptation to exhibit the meanest selfishness in their dealings with the poor. The result of this dread of incurring financial burdens shows itself in an obstinate refusal to grant any support out of the public funds, even in cases of well-known inability to work, and still more commonly in a tacit recommendation, in some rare cases even openly expressed, to seek an alternative in begging. "Thus, if in towns the Elberfeld system ensures a sufficient degree of activity in the care of the poor, in the country the scanty resources of many communes, combined with the too great interest which the individual members have in adopting the narrowest course of action, often reduce the assistance given to an inadequate amount, falling far short of the measure of the need."

In the towns, on the other hand, the danger seems to lie rather in the direction of increasing pauperism, and at the same time in the breaking down of the principle of out-door relief, so strongly insisted upon by the advocates of the Elberfeld system. Even in Elberfeld the statistics of pauperism compare unfavourably with those of England. It is true that the average number of out-door paupers in England during 1887, was 21·6 per 1,000 of the population, and in Elberfeld only 20·7, whilst the numbers of in-door paupers were respectively 29 and 28·4.(2) But the average for England is much higher than the proportion in manufacturing districts, which afford a better parallel; in Bradford the number in 1887 was only 15 per 1,000. In Berlin the increase is still more serious; between 1874–75 and 1884–85 the recipients of out-door relief increased 114·5 per cent, whilst the increase of the whole population was only 37·2 per cent. Whether these unsatisfactory figures are to be explained by the difficulty of administering a system requiring a vast amount of personal supervision in so large a city remains uncertain; it may be partly explained, perhaps, by the difficulty of dealing with apparently hopeless cases, under a system which aims chiefly at out-door relief. Its result is to be seen in the necessity, under which the poor law administrators find themselves, of restricting the amount given in aid to a minimum sum, which Mr. Loch characterises in his report as "ruinous to the people and extravagant." The alternative policy of exclusion from relief by some test, such as admission to a poorhouse, is contrary to the spirit of the present administration; nevertheless, signs are not wanting, that indoor relief is on the increase, and that it is likely to increase still further. In a report drawn up by the Berlin Court of Aldermen, in September, 1880, the court, after stating that the number of citizens employed in administering the law has made it possible to avoid the English workhouse system, go on to admit that in the last 30 years, the number of persons in need of help, who could only be assisted by admission to an institution, has increased. The instructions issued by the Minister of the Interior in 1871 also direct that indoor relief is to be given "if it be a fit case." The danger of injuring poorer wage-earners, by allowing persons housed in a poorhouse to compete with them, and by giving scraps of outdoor relief as an addition to wages, have already been indicated. It would certainly require the careful scrutiny characteristic of the Elberfeld system to counteract the evils which may result. On the whole, it must be said of the German poor law system that it requires a very high standard of citizenship to ensure the carrying out of so large an amount of burdensome and unpaid work. The political education acquired by this means may partially compensate the overseers and visitors, but it is clear that without a strong sense of civic duty a man would hardly make so great a sacrifice of time as is involved in work, which in Berlin occupies, it is said, two hours a day(1).

(1) Elberfeld Poor Law System, Report of English Commissioners, 1888, pp. 29, 69, 85. Schmoller, "Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft," 1892, Art., by Münsterberg, p. 187. Leaflet of Verein für Armenpflege und Wohlthätigkeit, June 1893.

(2) These figures refer to individuals, those in Table R 2, to cases, a family apparently being reckoned as one case. *See* Report of English Commissioners, 1888, pp. 26, 66.

D. Provision for the Unemployed.

a. Workmen's shelters.

Provision for workmen migrating from one part of the country to another in search of work has been made in Germany on a somewhat extended scale by means of the workmen's shelters (*Naturalverpflegungs-stationen*) established at intervals of about half a day's journey along all the main routes to the great industrial centres. These shelters are maintained by the authorities of groups of communes, in some cases with the assistance of the provincial authorities. Where any of the 400 lodging-houses or temporary houses (*Herbergen zur Heimat*) established by the Catholic or Protestant Church are in existence, these lodging-houses are as a rule utilised as a shelter; where there is no such house a special one is built for the purpose by the authorities. All workmen are admitted without distinction of creed, unless they are ill or intoxicated; in the former case they are conveyed to a hospital. Supper, bed, breakfast, and dinner are provided for the inmates, and in return they must do half a day's work in the workshops attached to the shelter. All the inmates are expected to respect the property of the house, and any damage done is charged to the account of all unless the offender is discovered. The use of all alcoholic drinks is forbidden, and a short religious service is held in the evening, but the attendance of the men is optional.

Workmen discovered to possess more than 3 marks are charged a small sum for their board and lodging. On leaving the shelter every workman is provided with a passport, on which is marked the hour at which he arrived at the shelter and the hour of his departure. The passport also indicates the route to the next shelter, and any workman found begging or wandering on bye-roads without visible means of subsistence is liable to be arrested as a vagabond. Workmen refusing to leave the shelter at the appointed time may be ejected by the police, and if workmen refuse to perform the appointed task their names are put on a black list, and they are no longer received at any shelter. On Sundays both work and travelling are suspended. A labour registry is attached to many of these stations, and workmen are advised as to the best route to adopt in order to obtain work and as to the state of the labour market in different districts. The following table shows the number of shelters established up to 1890, and marks a corresponding decrease in the number of convictions for vagabondage:—

Table S 1.

Year.	No. of Shelters.	Shelters established.			Shelters with or without Labour Registry.		Shelters with or without compulsory Work.		No. of Annual Convictions for Vagabondage.
		In ordinary Lodging-houses.	In Christian Lodging-houses.	Elsewhere.	With.	Without.	With.	Without.	
1882	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23,808
1883	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20,833
1884	595	385	?	201	277	318	189	406	18,157
1885	915	518	?	397	479	436	507	408	15,727
1887	917	401	130	386	514	334	652	239	15,466
1890	951	370	176	405	587	364	719	232	8,605

(1) Elberfeld Poor Law System: Report of English Commissioners 1888, pp. 28, 62, 67, 88, 93. v. Reitzenstein, "Zur internationalen Behandlung der Armenfrage," 1893, p. 22. "Die ländliche Armenpflege und ihre Reform," 1887, p. 7.

TABLE S 2.—Table showing the Number and Importance of the Shelters in the different States of the German Empire in 1890.

No.	States.	No. of Shelters.	Extent in Square Kilometers.	Inhabitants.	No. of Shelters by		Help distributed.			
					1,000 Sq. Kilom.	100,000 Scale.	Dinners.	Suppers.	Lodgings.	Breakfasts.
1	Kingdom of Prussia	951	348,354·29	29,957,302	2·7	3·17	603,067	1,065,328	1,076,466	1,033,837
2	Kingdom of Bavaria	239	75,859·71	5,589,382	3·1	4·27	114,474	220,139	237,798	170,994
3	Kingdom of Saxony	144	14,992·94	3,500,513	9·6	4·11	58,350	107,732	111,118	94,039
4	Kingdom of Würtemberg.	130	19,503·69	2,035,443	6·8	6·50	23,723	80,330	83,618	67,692
5	Grand Duchy of Baden	335	15,081·13	1,656,817	22·2	19·71	62,334	139,034	163,314	100,910
6	Grand Duchy of Hesse	40	7,681·83	994,614	5·2	4·00	9,074	51,550	60,446	39,996
7	Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.	—	13,303·77	578,565	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.	7	2,929·50	97,978	2·4	7·00	12,198	13,997	14,053	13,975
9	Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach.	31	3,594·86	325,824	8·6	10·33	21,248	45,851	47,143	20,781
10	Grand Duchy of Oldenburg.(1)	3	6,422·52	355,000	0·5	0·75	3,713	4,515	4,941	4,715
11	Anhalt	9	2,347·35	271,759	3·9	3·00	28,345	30,668	31,429	25,838
12	Brunswick	8	3,690·43	403,029	2·2	2·00	1,636	4,935	10,233	4,790
13	Saxe-Altenburg	14	1,323·75	170,867	10·7	7·00	8,221	31,251	20,470	19,534
14	Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	18	1,956·51	206,329	9·0	9·00	11,597	19,822	19,295	9,732
15	Saxe-Meiningen	3	2,468·37	223,920	1·2	1·50	1,309	6,122	6,174	6,218
16	Lippe	5	1,215·20	128,414	4·2	5·00	3,684	6,076	6,076	5,273
17	Schaumburg-Lippe	1	339·71	39,183	3·3	3·00	802	1,970	1,635	1,635
18	Reuss (elder line)	—	316·39	62,759	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	Reuss (younger line)	3	825·67	119,555	3·8	3·00	18	6,055	5,872	6,503
20	Schwarzburg - Rudolstadt.	5	940·42	85,838	5·6	5·00	1,237	7,640	7,746	7,664
21	Schwarzburg - Sondershausen.	5	862·10	75,514	5·6	6·50	1,725	10,676	10,663	10,668
22	Waldeck	4	1,121·05	57,283	3·6	8·00	465	3,663	3,452	3,663
23	Bremen	1	255·56	180,309	3·3	8·50	5,150	13,687	13,739	13,739
24	Hamburg	—	409·78	624,199	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	Lübeck	—	297·70	76,459	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	Alsace-Lorraine	1	14,509·41	1,603,987	0·1	0·06	120	350	410	410
	German Empire, Total	1,957	54,603·64	49,420,842	3·6	3·96	972,490	1,871,591	1,936,091	1,662,606

(1) The Duchy of Oldenburg proper does not possess a single shelter.

TABLE S 3.—Table showing Expenses and Average Population of the Shelters in 1890.

No.	States.	Gross Expenses, including General Expenses.	Proceeds of Work done in the Workshops of the Shelters.	Expenses. Nett.	Population declared at the Shelters on the Night of the 15th to the 16th Dec. 1890.		Average Number of Individuals received each Day.		Average Expense of living for each Individual.	
					For the whole Country.	Average per Shelter.	For the whole Country.	Per Shelter.	Per Year.	Per Day.
		Frs.	Frs.	Frs.					Frs. c.	Cents.
1	Prussia	991,084	60,386	930,698	5,516	5·80	2,949·22	3·10	315 60	86·46
2	Bavaria	179,952	10,911	169,041	925	3·87	651·50	2·73	259 26	71·02
3	Saxony	89,240	2,432	86,808	502	3·49	304·43	2·11	285 55	78·23
4	Wurtemburg	51,460	304	51,156	488	3·75	229·09	1·76	223 39	61·30
5	Baden	127,894	93	127,801	692	2·07	447·44	1·33	285 89	75·82
6	Hesse	38,621	6	38,615	232	5·80	165·61	4·14	232 62	63·73
7	Mecklenburg-Schwerin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	Mecklenburg-Strelitz	14,635	594	14,041	82	11·71	38·50	5·50	237 46	97·90
9	Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach	32,754	662	32,095	243	8·00	129·16	4·17	248 77	68·16
10	Oldenburg	6,717	81	6,636	21	7·00	13·54	4·11	474 01	128·86
11	Anhalt	27,937	2,701	25,236	109	12·11	86·11	9·57	292 27	77·57
12	Brunswick	7,630	386	7,244	37	4·63	28·04	3·51	258 70	70·87
13	Saxe-Altenburg	18,757	—	18,757	65	4·64	56·08	4·02	334 95	91·76
14	Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	14,645	977	13,668	97	5·39	52·86	2 94	257 87	70·65
15	Saxe-Meiningen	3,366	—	3,366	7	2·33	16·91	5·64	198 01	54·25
16	Lippe	7,500	2,500	5,000	53	10·60	16·65	3·33	294 11	80·57
17	Schaumburg-Lippe	2,587	—	2,587	22	22·00	4·48	4·48	646 87	177·22
18	Reuss (elder line)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
19	Reuss (younger line)	4,585	—	4,585	13	4·33	16·09	5·36	286 56	78·51
20	Schwarzburg	4,916	—	4,916	37	7·40	21·22	4·24	234 11	64·16
21	Schwarzburg	6,463	—	6,463	32	6·40	29·21	5·84	222 89	61·06
22	Waldeck	2,769	11	2,758	14	3·50	9·46	2·73	306 39	83·93
23	Bremen	12,526	2,363	10,160	24	24·00	37·64	37·64	267 36	73·25
24	Hamburg	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	Lubeck	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
26	Alsace-Lorraine	399	—	399	5	5·00	1·12	1:12	398 75	109·25
	Total German Empire	1,646,437	84,407	1,562,030	9,216	4·71	5,304·36	2·71	294 46	80·67

The chief danger arising from this method of lodging travelling workmen consists in the encouragement thereby afforded to workmen of migratory tendencies to throw up their employment for slight causes, and to resort to the larger towns in preference to the country districts. The development of a class of professional tramps (*Walzbrüder*) is regarded by many as a not improbable consequence of a system, which secures board and lodging to the traveller in return for only half a day's work (1).

b. Labour registries.

Besides a large number of private registry offices, labour registries for artisans have been established by some of the guilds, and similar institutions exist in connexion with the trades unions and workmen's associations. These have in some cases given rise to disputes, since in the one case the members of the guilds complain that they are restricted in their choice of workmen by being compelled to use the guild registry, and in the other case an attempt on the part of the labour associations to compel the employers to make use of their registry has occasioned strikes and lock-outs of considerable duration (see above p. 34). Further the number of registries working at cross-purposes has prevented any effective scheme for dealing with the question of the unemployed. In a few cases an attempt has been made to remedy this evil by the formation of associations aiming at the common good of the working classes rather than at the interests of any special industry. A society for promoting the welfare of the working classes (*Centralverein für das Wohl der arbeitenden Klassen*) was established in Stuttgart, and in 1865 it joined with two other philanthropic societies in setting up a labour registry. This office was at first on a very small scale, and confined itself to furnishing employment to working men. As its funds increased assistance was given to artisans, and the management of the travelling funds connected with the different associations of artisans was undertaken by the officials of the labour registry. During the Franco-German war the office supplied funds to labourers ordered on active service, and did good work in supplying farmers with the necessary labour, and in finding men to work on fortifications, earthworks, and Government buildings. Its official programme is now fourfold. It undertakes:—

1. To satisfy applications from employers for workmen and apprentices.
2. To satisfy applications from workmen and apprentices for work.
3. To provide assistance to journeymen in need of funds for the road.
4. To supply information of all sorts gratis with respect to the several branches of labour.

The fees charged are 40 pf. for employers residing in Germany and 50 pf. for foreign employers; these fees are lowered to regular subscribers of not less than 2 marks a year. Workmen are charged 20 pf. and provided with a ticket of introduction to an employer; if engaged, they receive back 10 pf. on presenting themselves at the office with the signed ticket, and if not engaged the whole of the fee is returned. Workmen, who have not the money to pay the requisite fee, may deposit their papers instead, and can receive them back after they have obtained a situation by paying 10 pf. The office aims at establishing separate registries for every trade, and each trade has the power of appointing a representative to control its interests. Since 1883 the office has been independent of the financial aid of the three societies, which were instrumental in establishing it. In 1888-89 applications were received from 6,676 employers and 7,823 workmen in search of work. In 1892 the applications from employers were 6,539, and from workmen 8,443. Since its first establishment the registry has dealt with 479,450 applications and obtained work abroad for 14,107 persons. The bulk of the applications refer to skilled labour, and female labour is not admitted. In 1883 a Central Association for Registering Labour (*Centralverein für Arbeitsnachweis*) was finally established in Berlin. Workmen applying are charged an entrance fee of 20 pf., and a further fee of 30 pf. for the use of the registry; this is not returned if they are unsuccessful, but carried on to their credit whilst they are sent to apply for another situation. Since 1886 no fees have been charged to employers; but the institution is not self-supporting. Applications are not received from women or from apprentices. In 1888 the number of applicants for work was 10,308, and that of employers seeking workmen, 7,365; the number of workmen supplied was 6,007, a decrease on former years, due, probably, to the increasing number of registry offices established for particular trades. During 1892 the number of applicants for work was 11,672, and the number of persons placed 7,552. In 1891 the numbers were respectively 13,459 and 7,376. The majority of the applicants are unskilled labourers. A registry for casual labour has been opened at Hamburg since April, 1893. A registry established at Breslau by the society for the prevention of pauperism received 1,806 applications from employers in 1891, and 1,600 in 1892. The applicants for work were 2,356 in 1891, and 2,075 in 1892, including 1,107 men, and 968 women. Work was found for 1,099 men and 548 women, or 2,047 out of the 2,075 applicants. This work was permanent in 926 cases. The majority of the applicants were unskilled and below the age of 50. Allusion has already been made to the labour registries in connexion with the workmen's shelters; these have achieved good results, and their efforts to detach workmen from an idle and wandering life have been further supplemented by the workmen's colonies. A scheme is on foot for the establishment of a municipal labour registry at Stuttgart to find work for both men and women. Its working expenses, which are estimated at 250*l.* a year, will be defrayed by the Municipality, and no assistance will be given by the poor law authorities unless the registry is unable to furnish the applicant with work. Sixteen free municipal labour registries has been established in the Liegnitz district of Silesia. As the applicants are chiefly agricultural labourers it is proposed to establish branch offices in the country districts (1).

c. Workmen's colonies.

The establishment of workmen's colonies was due to the efforts made by Pastor von Bodelschwingh between 1870 and 1880, to arouse general interest in favour of some provision for workmen out of employment. The idea had been mooted 30 years earlier by Pastor Heldring and others, but it had not met with a sufficiently wide acceptance to justify the establishment of any colonies. In 1882, the first colony, that of Wilhelmsdorf, near Bielefeld, was founded, and the number quickly grew until by the end of 1892 it had reached 25, scattered about in different parts of the German Empire. These colonies are the outcome of private benevolence; they are governed on certain general principles agreed upon by the directors, and the history of one is to a great extent the history of all. Able-bodied working men, who are out of employment, find admission without distinction of creed, nor are discharged prisoners refused, since the aim of the founders of the colonies is the reclamation of the inmates, and the revival in them of the spirit of industry. A distinctly religious character is given to the institutions, though due allowance is made for differences of creeds. In all the colonies life is regulated by certain common rules. Labour is paid for, but at a somewhat lower rate than that current in the district; the winter wages must not exceed 25 pf. a day, and the summer wages 40 pf. To leave the Berlin colony with any balance in his favour, the colonist must earn on an average 6*s.* a week. Colonists from the neighbourhood have the preference, if there is a scarcity of room, and those who have been dismissed from another colony cannot be received without the approval of the authorities of the colony from which they have come. Every colony is managed by a local committee, and the direct personal supervision is entrusted to an officer with the title of "Hausvater," assisted by two "brothers" or members of an association for training philanthropic workers. A Central Board of Management in Berlin directs the whole undertaking. The majority of the colonies are farm colonies, and the work done is mainly agricultural; little is manufactured except articles actually needed for use on the farm, or for the personal requirements of the colonists. There are, however, some city colonies, as, for instance, in Berlin where brush and mat-making, straw work, book-binding, and similar industries are carried on. These colonies are open to the objection that they interfere with outside workmen in these industries, but Mr. Graham Brooks, who has made a special study of the question, is of opinion that except in the case of a few isolated trades,

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 395, Art. "Arbeiterkolonien," Berthold. "L'Assistance Pratique donnée en Allemagne aux Ouvriers sans Travail," by M. de Quéker, 1893, pp. 9-23.

(1) Lexis "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 731, Art., "Arbeitsnachweis," von Reitzenstein. Foreign Office Report, Miscellaneous Series, No. 89, of 1888. "Le Placement des Ouvriers," Paris, Office du Travail, 1893, pp. 681-693. Labour Gazette, June 3, September 8, October, 1893. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892-3, p. 500.

this competition is insignificant since the work done in the colonies is often of an inferior character, and where it has been made to yield a profit, care is taken not to undersell the outside workers. The details collected by a deputation sent by the Glasgow Association for improving the condition of the people with regard to the colony of Friedrichswille, near Reppen, in the province of Brandenburg, will serve as a sample of the colonies generally. This is a farm colony under the direction of a "Hausvater," or inspector, with a salary of 1,200 marks a year, and an assistant to superintend outdoor operations with a salary of 240 marks, and board. There are also four "brothers" trained at the Rauehaus, a training college in Hamburg, and these six control a number of colonists varying from 110 in the summer to 200 in the winter. Every colonist admitted must remain at least three days, and before admission a colonist must answer a number of questions as to birth, parentage, creed, trade, number of relations dependent upon him, number in a position to support him, past life, immunity or not from military service, and similar matters. Invalids, inebriates, or persons coming from infected districts are not admitted. Most of the colonists are single men, and the majority are between 30 and 50 years of age. They remain on an average three or four months, none longer than a year; and about 50 per cent. return after having been away a few months. Only two men were discharged for misconduct in 1891. Four meals a day are given of a substantial nature, but not including meat except bacon and sausages; beer is given only on feast days. Services are held every morning and evening, at which attendance is compulsory for Catholics as well as Protestants; on Sundays Catholics are allowed to go to their own churches outside the colony. The total cost including expenses of management is reckoned at Wilhelmsdorf at 1·5 marks a day. The colonies are not as a rule self-supporting, that at Friedrichswille requires an annual grant of 1,200*l.* in cash, and 130*l.* in materials from the parent society. The Berlin colony has from time to time required help from the municipality, and has received timely donations from the Emperor and Empress and from private individuals. Its chief income is, however, derived from the sale of its products, which realised in 1891-2 a sum of 103,154 marks. The total receipts for that year were 192,679, and the expenses, 192.316; the receipts included a donation of 8,000 marks from the municipality. A house-to-house collection is made annually in Berlin under the supervision of the colony's chaplain.

Details with regard to the number of colonies, the inmates, and the success of efforts to find them permanent work are given in the following table:—(1)

TABLE T 1.—STATISTICS OF THE WORKMEN'S COLONIES IN GERMANY AT THE END OF DECEMBER 1892.

No.	Names of the Colonies.	Dates of Opening.	Colonists admitted since the Opening.	Colonists admitted within the last Month.	Actual Population.	No. of Places at a normal Period.	Colonists left since the Opening.	Colonists left within the last Month.
1	Wilhelmsdorf	22 Mar. 1882	6,579	40	244	236	6,335	20
2	Kästorf	24 June 1883	3,890	15	261	150	3,689	15
3	Rickling	10 Oct. 1883	4,255	9	149	150	4,106	10
4	Friedrichswille	13 Nov. 1883	5,015	35	194	175	4,821	26
5	Dornahof	15 Nov. 1883	3,346	30	95	100	3,251	23
6	Seyda	14 Dec. 1883	4,204	12	198	200	4,006	14
7	Dauelsberg	8 Feb. 1884	1,645	11	51	50	1,594	10
8	Wunscha	14 July 1884	2,434	26	117	100	2,317	17
9	Meierei	25 July 1884	2,904	18	139	150	2,765	13
10	Carlshof	15 Oct. 1884	4,611	180	369	250	4,242	51
11	Berlin	1 Dec. 1884	3,769	51	212	260	3,557	48
12	Ankenbuck	26 Feb. 1885	1,545	16	82	76	1,463	12
13	Neu-Ulrichstein	1 July 1885	2,146	16	120	130	2,026	16
14	Lühlerheim	15 Feb. 1886	2,199	5	123	124	2,076	5
15	Schneckengrün	22 Feb. 1886	2.519	11	120	122	2,399	6
16	Elkenroth	20 Oct. 1886	1,068	6	63	50	1,005	1
17	Simonshof	1 May 1888	1,850	23	104	104	1,746	22
18	Maria-Veen	1 Oct. 1888	1,689	12	141	125	1,548	18
19	Alt-Latzig	26 Oct. 1888	779	7	72	45	707	7
20	Magdeburg	23 Nov. 1888	1,147	25	52	56	1,095	24
21	Geilsdorf	28 July 1889	907	12	75	80	832	13
22	Erlach	1 Apr. 1891	508	13	81	100	427	20
23	Hohenhof	2 Jan. 1892	114	6	62	65	52	6
24	Hilmarshof	17 Jan. 1892	283	33	60	40	223	27
25	Hamburg	1 Dec. 1891	224	29	66	86	148	11
		Total	59,619	641	3,189	3,124	56,430	435

E. MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT OF LABOUR.

Very many German cities conduct their own gas and water works, and thus give direct employment to a large number of their citizens. The tendency on the part of German municipalities to take over these industries, which were formerly entrusted to a large extent to private companies, is due in part to the desire to utilise such a fruitful source of income, but also to secure the public against undue extortion with regard to the necessaries of life. Further, it has been pointed out that these industries are peculiarly adapted to serve as types, owing to the comparatively uniform character of the skill required and the steadiness of the demand for their product; so that in regulating the conditions of labour for the persons employed in them, the municipalities are establishing a standard for ordinary labour.

Of the 44 largest towns in Germany, 29, or about two-thirds, own their own gasworks; the largest of these works, measured by the amount of gas produced, are the three for the city of Berlin, which produce annually 29,500.000, 29,300,000, and 22.400,000 cubic metres of gas. The profit arising from this industry may be illustrated by the fact that in Leipzig the gasworks return an annual sum of over 1,000,000 marks (56.000*l.*), whilst in Breslau the nett profit is 416,835 marks (20,841*l.* 15*s.*).

Berlin is especially remarkable for the extent of its municipal industries, and the admirable financial results which it achieves. As early as 1847 the city began to establish its own gasworks, and for a time used all the surplus proceeds for the extension of the works. In 1868 when the municipal funds showed a deficit of about 3,000,000 marks, the surplus income of the gasworks was paid into the common treasury. The practice has since been continued, and the sum paid over rose from 863,235 marks in 1868 to 2.382,574 marks in 1874, 4,727.916 marks in 1883-4 (or deducting the amount paid by the city for the lighting of public buildings 3,370,794 marks), and 5.320,450 marks in

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 393, Art., "Arbeiterkolonien," Berthold. "L'Assistance Pratique donnee en Allemagne aux Ouvriers sans Travail." 1893. M. de Quecker, pp. 24-26. "Labour Colonies." Report of Glasgow deputation, 1892. pp. 1-60. Foreign Office Report, Miscellaneous Series, No. 74 1887.

1891-2, of which 4,855,000 marks represented the nett profit. At the same time the charge for gas supplied for public purposes has been reduced from 16 pf. a cubic metre, the present charge to private individuals, first to 13½ pf., and then to 12 pf. In 1873 Berlin took over the waterworks formerly belonging to an English company at a cost of 25,689,000 marks. Since that time they have greatly improved the supply of water, and have introduced greater economy by inaugurating the system of payment according to the amount used rather than in proportion to the rental of the property. In 1891-2 the waterworks showed a surplus of 1,896,056 marks available for general municipal purposes.

A like advantageous result of municipal management appears in the financial returns of the various markets; these showed a surplus of 311,540 marks in 1886-7, 80,439 marks in 1887-8, 433,453 marks in 1888-9, 239,073 marks in 1889-90, and 180,031 marks in 1890-1. The municipal cattle-market and slaughter-house had a surplus of 63,000 marks in 1891-2. On the other hand the drainage works required a subsidy from the municipal revenue of 2,712,969 marks. This favourable financial result of municipal administration in Berlin must be in part attributed to the comparatively recent date at which Berlin has become a city of the first magnitude. No radical change of system has as yet been necessary in its administration, and it has profited by the previous experience of other cities and especially of Paris. Besides the industries already enumerated as under municipal control, Berlin has established a public disinfecting house and public baths; but it has refused to establish shelters for travellers, or a municipal labour registry, on the ground that this would be to trench on ground already occupied by private associations. Tramways and electric lighting are carried on by private companies under a concession from the municipality, but this concession lapses at the end of a given period and the city reserves to itself the right of then taking over the management itself. The action of the municipality with regard to poor law administration has been already described, and in this connexion attention has been drawn to the large amount of unpaid public duties fulfilled by the citizens of Berlin. In spite of the great advance made by the Socialist party in Berlin, as evidenced by the elections to the Reichstag, there is as yet little trace of their influence in the municipal administration.

As regards wages the municipal authorities give little direct employment, but where they do employ labour, as in the gasworks and the cleaning of the streets, there is little difference between the wages and hours and those usual in the best private works. In street cleaning during 1892 they employed 88 foremen at 3·75 marks a day, 485 workmen at 3·25 marks, 70 workmen at 2·75 marks, and 105 boys at 1·60 marks. Working clothes were given in addition to wages, half wages in sickness, full wages for Sundays and holidays, and pensions to aged workmen of from 400 to 600 marks a year. In the gasworks the wages are similar to those paid by private companies. There have been two disputes which ended in the concession of the workmen's demands.(1)

F. Migration of Population.

1. Extent of migration.

The statistics of population point to a very great movement both within the limits of Germany and out of Germany altogether. Though the information available as to the immigration of foreign labour is less complete than that regarding the emigration and inter-migration of German labour, there is still evidence of a decided counter-movement of Russian, Polish, and Austrian workmen into Eastern Germany. The connexion of this immigration with the enormous emigration from the Eastern provinces will appear hereafter.(2) (See p. 99.)

a. Emigration statistics. (i.) Total emigration.

The total trans-oceanic emigration from Germany for the years 1871-1892, is given in the following table:—

Table V 1.—Total Emigration from Germany for Years 1871-1892, with destination of Emigrants.(3)

Year.	Total Emigration.	Emigrated to						
		America.				Africa.	Asia.	Australia.
		United States.	British North America.	Brazil.	Other Parts of America.			
1871	75,912	73,816	9	920	321	18	11	817
1872	128,152	119,780	690	3,508	486	2	12	1,172
1873	110,438	96,641	49	5,048	556	4	9	1,331
1874	47,671	42,492	138	1,019	525	5	33	900
1875	32,329	27,834	38	1,387	450	1	37	1,026
1876	29,644	22,767	11	3,432	847	54	31	1,226
1877	22,898	18,240	11	1,069	557	750	31	1,306
1878	25,627	20,373	89	1,048	545	394	50	1,718
1879	35,888	30,808	44	1,630	517	23	31	274
1880	117,097	103,115	222	2,119	539	27	36	132
1871–1880	625,656	555,866	1,301	21,180	5,343	1,278	281	9,902
1881	220,902	206,189	286	2,102	876	314	35	745
1882	203,585	189,373	383	1,286	1,205	335	40	1,247
1883	173,616	159,894	591	1,583	1,125	772	50	2,104
1884	149,065	139,339	728	1,253	1,335	230	35	666
1885	110,119	102,224	692	1,713	1,639	294	72	604
1886	83,218	75,591	330	2,045	1,068	191	116	534
1887	104,787	95,976	270	1,152	1,285	302	227	500
1888	103,951	94,364	199	1,129	1,723	331	230	539
1889	96,070	84,424	88	2,412	2,155	422	262	496
1890	97,103	85,112	307	4,096	1,300	471	165	474
1881–1890	1,342,416	1,232,486	3,874	18,771	13,711	3,622	1,232	7,899
1891	120,089	108,611	976	3,710	961	599	97	438
1892	112,271	107,803	1,577	779	1,077	476	120	376

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. III., p. 769, Art., "Gemeinde-finanzen," Eheberg. Rowe, "Die Gemeinde-finanzen von Berlin und Paris." 1893, pp. 84, 103.—Letter received September 27th from Dr. Freund, of Berlin.

(2) Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, vols. LII., LVIII., 1892-1893. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 1018, Art., "Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland," v. Philippovich.

(3) Taken from the official publications of the Imperial Office of Statistics and from Lexis "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 1018. Art., "Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland," v. Philippovich.

Prior to 1871 reliable details with regard to the extent of the trans-oceanic emigration are not to be obtained from any German statistics; but the statistics of the United States as to the extent of the German immigration can be accepted with a certain reserve, due to the fact that compared with the German statistics for the period 1881–87, the American total is 16·4 per cent. higher than that reckoned in Germany. Going back over a period of 50 years it is found that the tide of emigation reached a point hitherto unheard of, in the years 1852 to 1854. In the last year the total German immigration into the United States is given as 215,009, a number which, according to the German statistics in Table V 1, has not since been equalled, and which exceeds the total emigration from Germany to all parts of the globe for every subsequent year up to 1888, except 1881. After 1854 there was a considerable fall in the numbers, with a rise between 1866 and 1869, and again in 1872 and 1873. The increase at both these periods is attributed by Dr. Bödiker to the influence of the Austrian and Franco-German Wars, a view which may, perhaps, find an incidental confirmation in the fact that a very large proportion of male German emigrants are between the ages of 21 and 30, the period of military service. (*See* below, Table V 3.) The comparatively small emigration, which according to Table V 1 took place between 1874 and 1878, may possibly find a partial explanation in the great impetus given to manufactures by the increase of national wealth accruing to Germany from the indemnity paid by France at the close of the war. The depression of trade in the United States during the same period combined to deter intending emigrants from embarking for America. It is difficult not to connect the rise in emigration, which began in 1879, with the passage in the previous year of the Law against the Social Democrats (*see* p. 11). There is evidence from other sources (*see* p. 15) that the activity of the police in enforcing this measure drove a very great number of Social Democrats to take refuge in America, and it is significant that the number of emigrants should have increased from 25,627 in 1878, to 35,888 in 1879, 117,097 in 1880, 220,902 in 1881, and 203,585 in 1882. The lowest point since reached was in 1886, when the total fell to 83,218, and it is perhaps not unworthy of notice that 1886 preceded a recrudescence in the strength of the Socialist party in Germany, as illustrated by the great increase in the Socialist vote in the elections of the following year. Emigration has, however, increased since, and in 1891 reached a higher figure than in any year since 1884. In 1892 there was a slight diminution. By far the largest number of German emigrants go to the United States. Between 1881 and 1890 the proportion bound for United States ports constituted nearly 92 per cent. of the whole number. The German settlements in Brazil attract about 1·4 per cent., British North America about ·28 per cent., the other parts of America rather over 1·02 per cent., and Africa, Asia, and Australia together only a little over 9 per cent. There is a balance of 60,681, or rather over 4 per cent., for whom no destination is given in the table[1].

(ii.) Proportion from different States and Provinces.

The proportion of emigrants from the different States and provinces appears from the following table:—

TABLE V 2. Proportion of Emigrants from each Division of Germany.[2]

States and Territories.	Proportion of Emigrants to every 1,000 Inhabitants.								Number of Inhabitants to the Square Kilometer 1885.
	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.	1892.	
East Prussia	0·91	0·86	0·90	1·07	1·01	1·01	1·37	1·17	53·0
West Prussia	6·97	6·21	6·90	8·96	6·94	7·53	10·94	9·33	55·2
Brandenburg and Berlin	1·68	1·15	1·24	1·27	1·06	1·08	1·38	1·60	91·7
Pomerania	7·56	4·39	4·67	4·80	5·20	5·42	6·40	6·44	50·0
Posen	5·70	3·92	5·40	7·24	5·83	6·30	10·41	8·63	59·2
Silesia	0·70	0·71	0·72	0·57	0·45	0·53	0·63	0·76	102·0
Saxony	0·85	0·66	0·63	0·62	0·54	0·57	0·74	0·92	96·2
Schleswig Holstein	5·48	3·60	3·67	3·85	3·87	3·28	3·43	3·17	61·1
Hanover	4·16	2·74	2·89	2·83	3·00	2·62	2·94	3·14	56·5
Westphalia	1·15	0·83	1·10	0·90	0·83	0·99	0·93	1·15	109·1
Hesse-Nassau	2·50	1·86	2·32	2·01	1·81	1·68	1·81	1·66	101·5
Rhine Provinces	0·85	0·68	1·16	0·98	0·85	0·87	1·06	1·22	161·0
Hohenzollern	1·53	1·09	0·99	1·06	1·31	1·46	0·97	0·90	58·4
Total, Prussia	2·45	1·78	2·23	2·22	1·97	2·01	2·59	2·49	81·3
Bavaria	1·83	1·49	2·46	2·25	1·91	1·74	1·92	1·78	71·5
Saxony	0·91	0·75	0·76	0·72	0·70	0·75	1·17	1·36	212·2
Würtemberg	2·56	1·86	3·03	3.23	2·77	2·94	3·03	2·79	102·3
Baden	2·17	1·77	2·42	2·41	2·22	2·17	2·50	2·42	106·2
Hesse	2·62	1·80	2·44	2·32	2·05	2·15	2·00	1·70	124·5
Mecklenburg Schwerin	3·86	2·19	2·52	1·98	2·09	1·93	2·65	2·29	43·2
Mecklenburg Strelitz	3·97	1·57	1·59	2·45	2·62	1·97	3·40	1·78	33·6
Thüringian States	1·18	0·91	0·99	0·94	0·84	1·04	1·33	1·29	90·7
Oldenburg	4·09	2·90	3·05	3·04	3·49	2·83	3·20	3·62	53·2
Brunswick	0·75	0·70	0·64	0·86	0·68	0·77	0·62	0·80	100·9
Anhalt	0·46	0·33	0·37	0·40	0·25	0·36	0·59	0·38	105·7
Waldeck	3·48	1·77	1·61	1·63	1·71	1·44	1·60	1·47	50·5
Schaumburg Lippe	2·02	1·21	0·86	1·70	0·80	0·89	1·21	0·68	109·5
Lippe	2·57	1·43	0·75	0·91	0·76	0·79	1·06	1·70	101·4
Lübeck	2·26	1·37	1·55	1·18	1·13	1·07	1·35	1·08	227·3
Bremen	5·95	5·33	6·21	6·44	5·04	5·40	6·43	5·71	648·1
Hamburg	3·99	3·23	3·81	3·51	3·14	3·24	3·39	3·23	1265·5
Alsace-Lorraine	0·47	0·38	0·56	0·59	0·59	0·59	0·71	0·57	107·8
Total, German Empire	2·21	1·64	2·13	2·10	1·36	1·88	2·32	2·23	86·7

Here, as in the case of inter-migration, it is clear that the migratory tendency is strongest in the agricultural districts of the East, especially in West Prussia, Posen and Pomerania. The town of Bremen also sends large numbers of emigrants in proportion to its population, but it is possible that the number given may include

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften" vol. I., Art., "Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland," v. Philippovich. "Die überseeische Auswanderung von Jahre 1892," Imperial Office of Statistics, 1893.

(2) The figures for Alsace-Lorraine, Baden, Bavaria, and South West Germany are a little lower than the real ones, since they do not include emigrants sailing from French ports. For figures from 1885–1888, *see* Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 1018, Art, "Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland," v. Philippovich. For figures from 1889–1892, *see* "Die überseeische Auswanderung in 1892," Imperial Office of Statistics, 1893.

persons residing temporarily in the port and *en route* for America. It is clear from the table, both that the emigrants are drawn from the various provinces in very unequal proportions, and that the percentage of emigration bears no constant relation to the density of population. West Prussia, with 55·2 inhabitants to the square kilometre, sends out seven times as many emigrants as Berlin and Brandenburg with 9·7, whilst Posen, with 59·2, sends out more than twice as many as Hamburg with 1,265·5. Nor, again, can any connection be traced between the number of births in a province and the amount of emigration, for though East and West Prussia and Posen have a birth-rate equal to that of Westphalia and the Rhine Provinces the proportion of emigrants in the first group of provinces enormously exceeds that in the second. On the whole, therefore, it would appear that the moving springs of emigration are to be sought elsewhere than in the conditions of population.

(iii.) Age and sex of emigrants.

Details with regard to the age and sex of the emigrants have been collected by Professor von Philippovich in the following table:—

TABLE V 3.—EMIGRANTS classified according to Age and Sex.

Age Periods.	Total Emigration from Germany.						Population of Germany in 1885.	
	1886.		1887.		1888.			
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
0-14	12·3	12·0	12·1	11·7	12·3	11·8	22·4	22·4
14-21	10·7	9·9	10·8	10·0	10·6	10 0		
21-30	17·2	12·0	18·1	12·1	18·4	12·2	7·8	8·2
30-40	7·7	5·2	8·1	5·0	7·2	5·0	6·2	6·5
40-50	3·5	2·8	3·3	2·5	3·2	2·4	5·1	5·4
50-60	2·0	2·1	1·8	2·0	1·8	1·9	3·6	4·1
Over 60	1·2	1·2	1·1	1·2	1·0	1·0	3·7	4·3

From this it appears that the proportion of women to men is 44 per cent., or only 7·1 per cent. less than the proportion for the population as a whole. This proportion was maintained in 1892. Similarly children under 10 years of age represent 23·4 per cent. of the emigrants, whilst in the population as a whole they are 24.9 per cent.

(iv.) Emigration by families or otherwise.

Hence it is not surprising to find that according to the following table, emigration by families constitutes rather more than half of the total emigration during the same years:—

TABLE V 4.—EMIGRANTS classified according to Families or Individuals.

Year.	Emigration of Families.			Total Percentage of Emigration.	Emigration of Individuals.		Total Percentage of Emigration.
	Number of Families.	Division of Sexes.					
		Male.	Female.		Male.	Female.	
		Per cent.	Per cent.		Per cent.	Per cent.	
1881	35,978	31·9	32·7	64·6	26·6	8·8	35·4
1882	32,030	29·2	32 2	61·4	28·0	10·6	38·6
1883	26,452	28·0	31·4	59·4	28·5	12·1	40·6
1884	23,093	28·4	31·4	59·8	28·1	12·1	40·2
1885	16,152	26 8	31·3	58·1	27·1	14·8	41·9
1886	10,609	23·2	27·6	50·8	31·5	17·7	49·2
1887	14,055	23·1	27·1	50·2	32·6	17·2	49·8
1888	14,624	24·7	28·6	52·5	30·3	16·4	47·5

Apparently between 1881 and 1885 the proportion of families emigrating was even greater, but since 1885 it has remained at about one half though 1888 shows a slight increase. In 1892 this increase was still maintained. Table V 3, as already indicated, points to the conclusion that the great mass of male emigrants leave the country either before or at the most productive period of their existence, which is also the period during which they are liable for military service. An increasing proportion of women is noticeable amongst the single emigrants, and deserves attention as pointing to increasing difficulties in the way of getting a livelihood in Germany. According to the statistics of the United States and those published by the town of Hamburg more than half the emigrants can only be described as of no definite occupation. The drain, therefore, upon skilled labour and upon the better class of German workmen must be inconsiderable, especially when set against the advantage to the labour market from the removal of such a large number of unskilled competitors. On the other hand complaints are frequent from the United States of the prejudicial effect upon American labour exercised by this class of immigrant(1).

(v.) Ports through which emigrants pass.

The largest proportion of the purely German emigration passes through Bremen, whilst Hamburg for the last two years has absorbed the greatest share of the foreign emigrants travelling by way of Germany. The figures published by the Imperial Office of Statistics, for the years 1890–92 are as follows:—

TABLE V 5.

Year.	Bremen.			Hamburg.		
	German.	Foreign.	Total.	German.	Foreign.	Total.
1890	48,080	93,345	141,425	24,907	74,421	99,328
1891	59,673	80,148	139,821	31,581	112,658	144,239
1892	59,897	69,521	129,418	28,072	80,676	108,748

The figures for Bremen vary somewhat from those given in the Bremen Statistical Year Books, where the totals for the three years are 140,410, 138,457, and 127,029. The difference is not, however, sufficient to affect the comparison between the two ports. The following table furnished by the Imperial Office of Statistics shows the monthly emigration from these two ports in the last three years and brings out clearly the extent to which this was affected by the cholera epidemic of 1892. The numbers for September, October, and November of that year fall much below the average(2).

TABLE V 6.—EMIGRATION (German and Foreign) through—

In the Months.	Hamburg.			Bremen.		
	1890.	1891.	1892.	1890.	1891.	1892.
January	2,850	3,544	6,279	4,884	6,169	4,949
February	4,180	5,539	7,852	6,666	7,773	7,288
March	9,451	10,512	17,152	12,484	14,955	19,519
April	9,187	13,532	13,768	14,714	24,022	19,527
May	13,075	16,616	19,383	15,335	17,069	21,281
June	9,833	15,280	13,548	8,813	9,988	12,527
July	9,200	17,013	14,770	9,455	9,648	9,360
August	11,271	16,202	12,225	13,196	10,593	10,490
September	7,693	16,725	1,034	14,401	12,802	5,690
October	9,539	11,842	452	18,741	11,048	4,615
November	8,546	11,168	2,292	15,891	9,916	6,724
December	4,503	6,266	2,973	6,845	5,838	7,448
Total	99,328	144,239	108,748	141,425	139,821	129,418

(1) Royal Commission on Labour, Foreign Reports, vol. I., pp. 38–40; vol. II., pp. 176–204. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 1018, Art., "Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland," v. Philippovich. "Die überseeische Auswanderung in 1892," Imperial Office of Statistics, 1893.

(2) Figures drawn up by Imperial Office of Statistics. Jahrbücher der Bremischen Statistik, 1890, 1891, 1892.

(b.) Inter-migration statistics. (i.) Loss and gain through migration of various States and provinces.

The results of the Census of 1890, as worked up by the Imperial Office of Statistics, bring out some remarkable facts with regard to the changes which have taken place in the population of the German States and territories between 1885 and 1890. These are given in detail in the following table :—

TABLE W 1.—INTER-MIGRATION AND EMIGRATION.—CHANGE in the POPULATION of the German States and Territories between 1885 and 1890.*

States and Territories.	Resident Population.		Increase (+) and Decrease (−).		Excess of Births over Deaths.		Loss (−) or Gain (+) by Migration.	
	December 1, 1890.	December 1, 1885.	Absolute.	Annual Proportion per 1,000 of the Mean Population.	Absolute.	Annual Proportion per 1,000 of the Mean Population.	Absolute.	Annual Proportion per 1,000 of the Mean Population.
1. Prussia, including:	29,955,281	28,318,470	+1,636,811	+11·24	1,933,541	13·27	−296,730	−2·04
a. East Prussia	1,958,663	1,959,475	−812	−0·08	130,921	13·37	−131,733	−13·45
b. West Prussia	1,433,681	1,408,229	+25,452	+3·58	123,902	17·44	−98,450	−13·86
c. City of Berlin	1,578,794	1,315,287	+263,507	+36·42	77,669	10·73	+185,838	+25·69
d. Brandenburg	2,541,783	2,342,411	+199,372	+16·33	139,100	11·39	+60,272	+4·94
e. Pomerania	1,520,889	1,505,575	+15,314	+2·02	106,618	14·09	−91,304	−12·07
f. Posen	1,751,642	1,715,618	+36,024	+4·16	155,295	17·92	−119,271	−13·76
g. Silesia	4,224,458	4,112,219	+112,239	+5·39	237,756	11·41	−125,517	−6·02
h. Saxony	2,580,010	2,428,367	+151,643	+12·11	177,615	14·19	−25,972	−2·07
i. Schleswig Holstein.	1,217,437	1,150,306	+67,131	+11·34	70,848	11·97	−3,717	−0·63
j. Hanover	2,278,361	2,172,702	+105,659	+9·50	127,240	11·43	−21,581	−1·94
k. Westphalia	2,428,661	2,204,580	+224,081	+19·35	185,613	16·02	+38,468	+3·32
l. Hesse Nassau	1,664,426	1,592,454	+71,972	+8·84	79,672	9·79	−7,700	−0·95
m. Rhine Province	4,710,391	4,344,527	+365,864	+16·16	319,079	14·10	+46,785	+2·07
n. Hohenzollern	66,085	66,720	−635	−1·91	2,213	6·67	−2,848	−8·58
2. Bavaria	5,594,982	5,420,199	+174,783	+6·35	229,725	8·34	−54,942	−2·00
3. Saxony	3,502,684	3,182,003	+320,681	+19·19	240,607	14·40	+80,074	+4·79
4. Würtemberg	2,036,522	1,995,185	+41,337	+4·10	97,668	9·69	−56,331	−5·59
5. Baden	1,657,867	1,601,255	+56,612	+6·95	73,861	9·07	−17,249	−2·12
6. Hesse	992,883	956,611	+36,272	+7·44	45,155	9·26	−8,883	−1·82
7. Mecklenburg-Schwerin.	578,342	575,152	+3,190	+1·11	27,841	9·65	−24,651	−8·55
8. Saxe Weimar	326,091	313,946	+12,145	+7·59	17,556	10·97	−5,411	−3·38
9. Mecklenburg-Strelitz.	97,978	98,371	−393	−0·80	4,725	9·63	−5,118	−10·43
10. Oldenburg	354,968	341,525	+13,443	+7·72	20,710	11·89	−7,267	−4·17
11. Brunswick	403,773	372,452	+31,321	+16·14	23,048	11·88	+8,273	+4·26
12. Saxe-Meiningen	223,832	214,884	+8,948	+8·16	14,646	13·35	−5,698	−5·20
13. Saxe-Altenburg	170,864	161,460	+9,404	+11·32	9,997	12·03	−593	−0·71
14. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha	206,513	198,829	+7,684	+7·58	11,721	11·57	−4,037	−3·98
15. Anhalt	271,963	248,166	+23,797	+18·30	19,884	15·29	+3,913	+3·01
16. Schwarzburg-Sondershausen.	75,510	73,606	+1,904	+5·11	4,680	12·55	−2,776	−7·45
17. Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt.	85,863	83,836	+2,027	+4·78	5,565	13·12	−3,538	−8·34
18. Waldeck	57,281	56,575	+706	+2·48	3,186	11·19	−2,480	−8·71
19. Reuss (Elder Line)	62,754	55,904	+6,850	+23·09	5,173	17·44	+1,677	+5·65
20 Reuss (Younger Line).	119,811	110,598	+9,213	+15·99	7,874	13·67	+1,339	+2·32
21. Schaumburg-Lippe	39,163	37,204	+1,959	+10·26	2,824	14·79	−865	−4·53
22. Lippe	128,495	123,212	+5,283	+8·40	9,159	14·55	−3,876	−6·16
23. Lübeck	76,485	67,658	+8,827	+24·49	3,875	10·75	+4,952	+13·74
24. Bremen	180,443	165,628	+14,815	+17·12	8,764	10·13	+6,051	+6·99
25. Hamburg	622,530	518,620	+103,910	+36·42	27,708	9·71	+76,202	+26·71
26. Alsace-Lorraine	1,603,506	1,564,355	+39,151	+4·94	52,383	6·61	−13,232	−1·67
German Empire	49,426,384	46,855,704	+2,570,680	+10·68	2,901,876	12·06	−331,196	−1·38

* Compiled from table drawn up in Imperial Office of Statistics, and based on Census Returns for 1890. *See* "Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik," vol. LVIII., 1893, pp. 29, 30, and table in Appendix. *See also* map, Appendix C.

According to this table, Germany as a whole has lost 331,196 inhabitants by emigration since 1885. As against this loss, a certain allowance must be made for the gains by immigration, of which this table takes no account. They might, however, be computed from the figures given for the absolute increase, and for the natural increase of population. These show a loss of 151,196, and as the absolute loss amounts to more than twice that number, the balance, 180,000, would appear to represent the gain by immigration for the whole period, giving, therefore, an annual immigration of 36,000 for the whole of Germany. This figure receives incidental confirmation from the totals given below in Table W 4 for the immigration from Austria and Russia into the eastern provinces, which constitutes the main part of the total foreign immigration.

Apart, however, from the general loss to Germany by migration, the figures given for the different provinces have a special interest as showing the extent of the migration from the country districts to the towns, and from the eastern provinces to the west. Though only East Prussia, Hohenzollern, and Mecklenburg-Strelitz show an absolute decrease of population, the proportion showing a loss by migration is extraordinarily large. Indeed, as the following table, compiled from the same figures by Dr. Max Sering, shows, it is only Berlin, the Hanseatic towns, the district of Potsdam, and the manufacturing districts of Saxony and the Rhine which can show an increase :—

TABLE W 2.—ABSTRACTED from TABLE W 1, with Districts Grouped according to Gain or Loss by Migration.*

Districts.	Excess of Births over Deaths in the Period between December 1, 1885, and December 1, 1890.	Increase in Population between December 1, 1885, and December 1, 1890.	Loss through Migration.		Gain through Migration.	
			Heads.	Percentage of the Excess of Births.	Heads.	Percentage of the Excess of Births.
East Prussia	130,910	−812	131,722	100·62	—	—
The two Mecklenburgs	32,566	3,583	28,983	89·17	—	—
Pomerania	106,615	15,314	91,301	85·64	—	—
West Prussia	123,894	25,452	98,442	79·51	—	—
Posen	155,229	36,024	119,205	76·80	—	—
District of Frankfurt-am-Oder	64,885	20,866	44,019	67·93	—	—
Silésia	237,671	112,239	125,432	52·79	—	—
Group I.	851,770	212,666	639,104	75·04	—	—
Schleswig Holstein	70,856	67,131	3,725	5·26	—	—
Hanover, Oldenburg, and Brunswick	170,914	150,423	20,491	11·99	—	—
Province of Saxony	177,613	151,643	25,970	14·62	—	—
Hesse Nassau	79,654	71,972	7,682	9·65	—	—
Mid German States	112,501	89,920	22,581	20·07	—	—
Group II.	611,538	531,089	80,449	13·15	—	—
Grand Duchy of Hesse	45,155	36,272	8,883	19·69	—	—
Bavaria (right bank of Rhine)	184,789	142,819	41,970	22·72	—	—
Baden	73,661	56,612	17,049	23·16	—	—
Alsace-Lorraine	52,383	39,151	13,232	25·30	—	—
Bavarian Palatinate	44,918	31,964	12,954	28·85	—	—
Würtemberg	97,668	41,337	56,331	57·71	—	—
Hohenzollern	2,213	−635	2,848	129·45	—	—
Group III.	500,787	347,520	153,267	30·61	—	—
Berlin	77,635	263,507	—	—	185,872	239·52
District of Potsdam	74,223	178,506	—	—	104,283	140·54
Hanseatic towns	40,546	127,552	—	—	87,006	214·82
Kingdom of Saxony	240,607	320,681	—	—	80,074	33·28
Rhine Provinces	319,099	365,864	—	—	46,765	14·65
Westphalia	185,578	224,081	—	—	38,503	20·75
Group IV.	937,688	1,480,191	—	—	542,503	57·86
SUMMARY OF FOREGOING GROUPS.						
Group I.	851,770	212,666	639,104	75·04	—	—
Group II.	611,538	531,089	80,449	13·15	—	—
Group III.	500,787	347,520	153,267	30·61	—	—
Total I.–III.	1,964,095	1,091,275	872,820	—	—	—
Group IV.	937,688	1,480,191	—	—	542,503	57·86
Total—German Empire	2,901,783	2,571,466	330,317	11·38	—	—

* Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, vol. LVI., 1893, p. 6.

The total loss by migration is here given at a somewhat lower figure than in Table W 1, as the absolute increase of population is placed rather higher; but the difference between the two sets of figures is too inconsiderable to affect the general conclusions warranted by the state of things they disclose. According to Table W 2, East Prussia, Silesia, and Posen, are the greatest losers by migration in point of numbers, whilst West Prussia and Pomerania follow close behind. The proportionate loss, as compared with the natural increase of population, is greatest in East Prussia, where it exceeds 100 per cent., and gradually decreases through the eastern provinces until, in Silesia, it is 52·79 per cent. The figures for the east are only rivalled by those for Hohenzollern, which appears to be losing at the enormous rate of 129·45 per cent., and for Würtemberg, which loses 57·71 per cent. On the other hand, Berlin has gained 239·52 per cent., and the Hanseatic towns 214·82 per cent. The following table, compiled from the same census returns, gives the total loss of East and South Germany by inter-migration only as 8·9 and 0·2 per 1,000 of the native population, whereas Western Germany has gained 8·1 per 1,000 since 1885. The enormous migration into Hamburg and Bremen may, perhaps, be due to the temporary settlement in those cities of intending emigrants.

TABLE W 3.—FLUCTUATION in the NATIVE POPULATION of different parts of Germany due to Internal Migration, according to the Census of 1890.*

Divisions.	Drawn from other parts of the Empire.		Diverted to other parts of the Empire.		Gain (+) or loss (−) by Internal Migration.	
	Absolute.	Percentage of the existing Population.	Absolute.	Percentage of the Native Population.	Absolute.	Percentage of the Native Population.
EASTERN GERMANY.						
East Prussia	53,331	27·4	324,351	146·1	−271,020	−122·1
West Prussia	141,692	99·4	243,133	159·3	−101,441	−66·5
Posen	136,128	78·1	321,319	166·7	−185,191	−96·1
Silesia	143,275	34·3	475,866	105·5	−332,591	−73·7
Pomerania	118,956	78·4	282,876	168·3	−163,920	−97·5
The two Mecklenburgs	55,601	82·5	135,716	180·1	−80,115	−106·3
Schleswig, Holstein, and Lübeck	175,418	138·6	156,223	125·3	+19,195	+15·4
Hamburg	294,174	485·8	47,674	132·8	+246,500	+686·5
Brandenburg and Berlin	997,582	244·3	285,131	84·6	+712,451	+211·3
WESTERN GERMANY.						
Hanover and the two Lippes	246,783	101·5	296,890	119·6	−50,107	−20·2
Oldenburg	49,093	139·1	57,488	159·2	−8,395	−23·2
Bremen	70,890	400·4	20,238	160·1	+50,652	+400·7
Saxony, Brunswick, and Anhalt	372,105	114·7	517,591	152·7	−145,486	−42·9
Kingdom of Saxony	348,451	101·5	155,230	47·9	+193,221	+59·7
Thüringia	134,097	105·9	204,778	153·2	−70,681	−52·9
Hesse-Nassau and Waldeck	205,356	120·2	233,326	134·3	−27,970	−16·1
Westphalia	307,130	127·3	228,034	97·7	+79,096	+33·9
Rhine Provinces	386,733	83·3	248,039	55·0	+138,694	+30·8
SOUTHERN GERMANY.						
Hesse	101,693	102·9	107,374	108·1	−5,681	−5·7
Bavarian-Palatinate	45,496	62·7	79,412	104·6	−33,916	−44·7
Alsace-Lorraine	169,774	109·1	36,494	25·6	+133,280	+93·7
Baden	120,512	73·5	106,167	65·4	+14,345	+8·8
Würtemberg and Hohenzollern	60,308	28·9	147,069	67·6	−86,761	−39·9
Bavaria (right bank of Rhine)	127,456	26·9	151,615	31·4	−24,159	−5·0

* Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, vol. LVIII., 1893, p. 55.

(ii.) Counter-immigration movement.

A comparative table has been constructed from figures given by the Imperial Office of Statistics showing the loss, by temporary migration and by emigration, to the various industries of East and West Prussia, Posen, and Silesia, in 1891 and 1892, and the extent to which the places of emigrants are supplied by immigrants from Austria and Russia. It is difficult to obtain accurate statistics as to the amount of temporary migration, known as "Sachsengängerei," from the fact that Saxony was the goal to which the poverty-stricken labourers of the east first directed their steps. The previous tables, based upon the Census returns, necessarily under-estimate it, since those returns are made in the winter, when the majority of these temporary migrants have returned to their homes.

TABLE W 4.—Loss of POPULATION in the Eastern Provinces of Prussia due to Internal Migration and to Emigration of Native Labourers, as Compared with Gain due to Immigration of Labourers from Austria and Russia, for the Years 1891 and 1892.*

Provinces.	Loss through temporary Migration.			Total Loss through Internal Migration.	Loss through Emigration.			Total Loss through Emigration.	Total Loss by both.	Immigration from Russia.			Total Gain from Russia.	Immigration from Austria.			Total Gain from Austria.	Total Gain from both.
	Agriculture.	Industry.	Mining.		Agriculture.	Industry.	Mining.			Agriculture.	Industry.	Mining.		Agriculture.	Industry.	Mining.		
East Prussia:																		
1891	13,488	875	216	14,579	2,737	452	53	3,242	17,821	3,697	141	—	3,838	27	6	—	33	3,871
1892	9,142	621	—	9,763	1,160	174	2	1,336	11,099	3,103	120	—	3,223	54	4	—	58	3,281
West Prussia:†																		
1891	8,304	108	—	8,422	1,841	123	—	1,964	33,012	1,488	20	—	1,508	29	8	—	37	5,634
1892	22,824	698	17	23,539	4,483	662	1	5,146	28,685	5,447	23	—	5,470	72	19	—	91	5,561
Silesia:																		
1891	20,783	2,591	88	23,432	868	1,421	62	2,407	29,097	2,993	182	26	3,208	1,326	3,942	1,566	6,834	10,329
1892	20,802	2,132	60	22,994	696	1,149	32	1,877	24,871	2,805	158	19	2,982	992	668	372	2,239	25,014
Posen:																		
1891	42,434	744	119	43,297	5,995	315	3	6,313	49,610	7,553	261	—	7,814	69	16	—	85	7,899
1892	38,970	1,461	167	40,598	5,957	309	4	6,270	46,868	6,986	467	—	7,453	46	12	—	58	7,511
Total 1891	85,009	4,318	423	89,730	11,441	2,311	118	13,926	129,540	15,731	604	26	16,368	1,451	3,972	1,566	6,989	27,733
„ 1892	91,738	4,912	244	96,894	12,296	2,294	39	14,629	111,523	13,341	768	19	19,128	1,164	703	372	2,446	21,367

* Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, vol. LVIII., 1893, pp. 37–48.
† The figures for West Prussia in 1891 only refer to the last three quarters of the year, and appear to be imperfect since the totals given do not in every case agree with the detailed figures; the last remark applies also to the totals for Silesia in 1891.

From this it appears that, both in 1891 and 1892, agriculture lost nearly six times as many labourers as it gained; but though the same proportion between loss and gain holds good for manufactures in 1892, in 1891 the loss was only one-half greater than the gain. In mining, on the other hand, the gain exceeded the loss in 1892 by about one-half, whilst in 1891 that industry gained nearly three times as many labourers as it lost. The total result was a loss to the labouring population for both years of between four and five times the amount of the gain, so that the immigration movement affords an inconsiderable counter-weight to the constant drain upon the population. The immigration from Russia is apparently far larger than that from Austria, and the Austrian immigrants appear to settle almost exclusively in Silesia.

According to Dr. Weber, of Berlin, who has made a special study of the conditions of labour in the Eastern provinces, the movement from Russian and Austrian Poland into Germany is advancing. Up to 1861 the Polish population of Germany was decreasing; since 1861 its increase has been slow, indeed, but steady, and until 1886 it was allowed to continue unchecked. Between 1861 and 1886 the German population of those parts of West Prussia in which large estates only constituted 35 per cent. of the total area decreased by 0·7 per cent.; but in the districts in which large estates were 50 and 64 per cent., it decreased by 5·5 per cent. In 1886 the immigration of Polish labourers was prohibited, and the Polish labourers then on German soil were sent back to their own country. In 1890 the lord lieutenant of the Province (*der Oberpräsident*) was petitioned to relax this prohibition owing to the scarcity of labour, and on condition that before November 1st all such imported labourers should have returned across the frontier. Table W. 4 shows the large number that came in 1891, and though the cholera epidemic of 1892, and the consequent prohibition of immigration after the 1st of September, brought about a diminution, over 21,000 arrived in the earlier part of the year.(1)

2. Causes of migration.

Some indications have already been given of the causes which are at work in this vast migratory movement of the German population. The difficulty of distinguishing between the various factors, social, political, and economic, which combine to produce such a result, can scarcely be over-estimated; but the immense preponderance of natives of the agricultural districts amongst the emigrants point to the defective conditions of agriculture as the main source of the discontent with home surroundings, which must always precede any migration of population. Putting for a moment this important factor on one side, due weight must be allowed to the social and political causes which combine to produce the result. Amongst these may be enumerated the attitude of the German Government prior to 1890 towards the great body of German Socialists, and the discontent felt, at any rate in time of peace, with the German military system. The desire for a fuller life, and for the advantages offered by the towns, have drawn a vast number of the best and most intelligent of the labouring classes from the east of Germany to the west. "It is not so much the desire to obtain more money," says the last Report of the East Prussian Association (*Ostpreusslicher Centralverein*), "which impels, at any rate, the unmarried "people to emigrate . . . . . it is much more the "wish for an independent life, and for pleasures and "amusements which here, in the east, we cannot offer "to the country folk." But, as Dr. Max Sering says, the cause lies even deeper, and must be sought in "the "ideals of freedom and human dignity," which have produced "a striving after a higher social status," even independently of material advantage or of intellectual gain. The growth of education, and the enlightenment which the term of military service brings to the agricultural labourer, have helped to foster these social aspirations, and it is rare to find the children, even in Mecklenburg, where the conditions of labour are specially favourable, content to follow the calling of their fathers. This attraction attaching to the conditions of town-life is exercised even more strongly by those of the United States, and it is fostered by the ceaseless efforts of rival steamship companies and their agents to present those attractions in glowing terms, and to minimise the cost and difficulties of transport. Further, the letters and remittances of friends and relations, who have already emigrated, produce a very great effect upon those remaining at home; and perhaps this has contributed as much as anything else to the increased migration. Nevertheless, as has been well pointed out by *Herr* Lindig, neither the efforts of unscrupulous agents, nor the representations of friends and relations, would have sufficed to induce such an immense number of persons to forsake their homes, if the economic condition of the German labourer had been satisfactory. Low wages, lack of employment, the decay of the lesser industries, and the too rapid influx of would-be factory-workers into the towns, combine to produce a state of things compared with which the United States appear to have everything to offer. As Professor von Philippovich has said, the tide of emigration can only be stemmed in States which seek "to make home home-like to the "wanderers by raising their economic and social con-"ditions." On the other hand, the economic and political conditions of the countries to which the emigrants go may in the future be expected to exercise a still greater influence; and it is not improbable that the attitude now adopted by the United States towards immigration, combined with the increasing difficulty of obtaining land, may have a deterrent effect upon German emigration. For, in the main, this emigration is an agricultural emigration, and all writers on the subject are agreed that the dearest wish of the agricultural labourer in Germany is to become a landowner, on however small a scale. It is this desire, uniting as it does the economic, social, and political factors already distinguished, which is mainly responsible for the migration of population in Germany. Statistics have shown that there are two main districts from which the emigrants go—the south-west and the north-east. In the one case, the population has outgrown both the land supply and the supply of supplementary employment; in the other, the conditions of labour on the great estates render it more and more difficult for the labourer to emancipate himself from his state of servitude. (*See* p. 53.) Even apart from the difficulty of securing a small plot of ground in a country of great estates, the agricultural labourer cannot, under existing conditions, acquire the purchase money even by years of saving; so that, as Dr. Lindig has said, "the agri-"cultural question is first and foremost a question of "wages. . . . The small receipts, and the im-"possibility of saving anything which can help him to "rise in the social scale, causes the labourer to seek "conditions which afford a better prospect. These he "finds in factory labour at home, or in emigration to "America, where wages are high and the price of land "proportionately small; there he may hope to attain "the goal of his ambition and to become independent, "whereas here it is hard, indeed, even for the most "skilled and most diligent, to save enough for the "purchase money of a piece of land." At the same time, it must be pointed out to those who regard small holdings as the universal and unfailing remedy, that of late a large number of small German proprietors have found themselves forced, by the continued depression of prices, to give up their holdings, and to emigrate. This is due largely to the poverty of the land which the great landowners had given for settlement, but it is a fact worthy of notice by the advocates of rural colonisation.(1)

3. Effect of migration.

To ascertain the exact economic effect of the migration of labour is, if possible, still more difficult than to determine its causes. On the one hand, the mother country gains by the settlement of lands which afford fresh markets for her products, and by the employment even over the seas of her surplus population. On the other hand, emigration beyond certain reasonable limits involves a drain upon the productive and military force of the country, and the relief afforded to the labour market may easily be neutralised by the presence of an excessive number of old men and children. The last objection applies, perhaps, less to an emigration so largely composed of families; but the investigations of specialists like Dr. Krieg, in Bavaria, leave little room for doubt that the proportion of young men amongst the emigrants is decidedly excessive. Further, Dr. Sering draws attention to the breaking off of personal relations between employers and employed as an evil inseparable from frequent migration, and deplores the effect which he foresees upon the labour question in Germany. The advantages and disadvantages of the movement of population require, however, to be very differently estimated in different parts of Germany. In the thickly-populated districts of the west and south the loss from emigration is certainly smaller, and the gain may even

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. V., p. 473, Art., "Sachsengängerei," Kaerger. Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, vol. LVIII., 1893, pp. 37-48, 70-72.

(1) Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, vols. LII., LVI., LVIII. 1892, 1893. *For a more detailed account of agricultural conditions, see* above, pp. 52-55, and authorities there cited.

be said to predominate. In the vast plains of the east and north, on the other hand, the loss is so striking as to outweigh any possibility of gain, and the rapid movement west only serves to augment the overcrowding of the towns and the manufacturing districts to a degree which can scarcely find an adequate outlet even in the extensive trans-oceanic migration. The general situation is thus graphically described by Dr. Max Sering: — "Whilst a rapidly increasing reserve army is pressing into the already overcrowded "quarters of the large towns and the manufacturing "districts to such an extent that even at the very "busiest seasons it can scarcely find full employment, "and only succeeds in lowering the general standard "of living, the wide plains of the east are barren of "men to sow the corn and reap the harvest, and "thousands of country cottages are standing empty. "The scarcity of good labour has reached a point at "which the rational pursuit of agriculture becomes "impossible. In many places corn growing has been "forced to give way to the sowing of grass. It is a "phenomenon of annual recurrence that the harvest "cannot be got in at the right time, that the hay rots "in the meadows, and that the potatoes lie long "overdue in the earth. In some districts the labour "supply is insufficient even in the winter . . . . . "The physical and moral health of our nation, as well "as its military strength, suffer the most grievous "injury from over-rapid pressing into city and factory "life, and from trans-oceanic migration." In proof of his statements Dr. Sering brings forward the fact that in 1890 more than 6,000 labourers' cottages were standing empty in East Prussia, and that year by year the great landowners are forced to introduce labour from Russia and Austria, and in Mecklenburg from Sweden, in order to accomplish even the most ordinary agricultural operations. According to many persons this remedy is worse than the disease. The labourers introduced are largely Poles of a low standard of intelligence and accustomed to a low standard of living. The Polish labourer competes not only with the German labourer but with the German labourer's family; the landowner is under no obligation to support him when out of work, as he must then return to his own country, and if he appears likely to give trouble a hint to the district authorities is sufficient to ensure his rapid transit across the frontier. Under these conditions it is hardly strange that in an era of agricultural depression the great landowners are glad of any excuse for employing this cheaper labour, and that the last state of the German agricultural labourer is worse than the first. On the other hand, the present economic conditions point to a more intensive system of farming as the only sure remedy for agricultural depression, yet without some means of obtaining a constant supply of labour this remedy is inapplicable.

The agricultural conditions of the east do not, however, repeat themselves in anything like the same degree in the west and south. It is true that even here agriculturists are found to complain of the growing desire for town life, which draws away the best of their labour; but there are many districts where the subdivision of the land and the density of the population produce a permanent distress, which only finds inadequate relief in emigration. In the agricultural parts of Bavaria, in Baden, in Würtemberg, and in some of the Thüringian states, emigration is not only an advantage, it is a positive necessity. Here the plots of land are too small to support the families of the individual proprietors, and the "great distance "from the coal-fields, the insufficient or uncertain "supply of water power, combined with the lack of "communication with commercial centres and with "the more important consuming districts," render it impossible to multiply the opportunities of supplementary employment. On the whole, it seems clear that though the eastern provinces suffer greatly from the drain upon agricultural labour, the inhabitants of more thickly peopled districts, and the representatives of the decaying small industries, would be in an even worse condition than at present were it not for the facilities afforded for migration(1).

The attitude of the State towards migration must, therefore, be twofold. On the one hand emigration needs direction and protection; on the other hand, some remedy must be found to check the disastrous outflow of the agricultural population. In the fulfilment of the first of these duties the German Government has, in the opinion of Professor von Philippovich and others, shown itself singularly deficient. Though at a comparatively early date the Governments of many of the States, as, for instance, of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Mecklenburg, and others, took an active part in furthering emigration as the most effective remedy for the general economic distress which prevailed in Germany in the middle of the century, in later times the idea gained ground amongst economists that emigration meant only so much loss of labour-power to a country, and the attitude of the State became one of passive opposition to any movement of the population outside its borders. Forgetful of the compensating advantages the State, as Professor von Philippovich says, "remembered only "the unfortunate simile in which M. Say compared "the 100,000 emigrants which Germany sends forth "yearly to a well-equipped army passing over the "border and immediately vanishing into space." In individual States the control of emigration agents, the regulation of the means of transport, the diffusion of reliable information with regard to foreign countries, and the care of German subjects even beyond the seas, have been long regarded as legitimate channels for Government activity; but the Imperial Government has until recent years been content with a mere recognition of the right of migration, and some provisions with regard to the acquisition or loss of citizenship, combined with a few transport regulations, and a clause in the penal code against persons liable for military service who leave the kingdom without permission from the authorities. Any positive provision for the welfare of emigrants, or intending emigrants, other than regulations for their safety on board ship, is entirely wanting, though the State is face to face "with an elementary social factor," which, because elementary, it is powerless to remove, but which it might well be supposed to guide in the right direction. Futile attempts were made both in 1848 and in 1850 to get the Prussian Government to move in the matter, and a proposal put forward in 1856 by Bavaria, for a national regulation of emigration, led to no result. Meanwhile German subjects were suffering severely. Many had been induced to go to Brazil and to the South and Central American Republics under false pretences, only to find on arrival that the conditions under which they were bound to the soil resembled the system of American slave labour. In Brazil the emigrants worked on the half-share system, but the employer's half of the produce was largely augmented by the sums exacted from the emigrants in repayment of advances made through agents to cover the cost of passage. Exorbitant interest was frequently charged for these advances, and even where the colonist landed with money of his own and proceeded to take up land, the insecurity of tenure, the general disregard of law on the part of the South American Governments, and the inadequacy of the system of marking out claims, led to numerous abuses, and greatly hampered the success of the German colonies. The German Governments contented themselves with prohibiting emigration to Brazil, and thus checking the career of what Dr. Roscher regards as a promising colonial enterprise. It was not until 1868 that the North German Federation appointed a Commissioner of Emigration, and subsequent efforts to introduce Bills into the Reichstag providing for the effective control of emigration have, in every case, proved a failure. The Imperial Government have continued the appointment of the commissioner, who is stationed at Hamburg, but for the enforcement of his orders he has to rely upon the local statutes. In this city, as in all the Hanseatic towns,(1) any person may set up as an emigration agent who resides in the given town and is in possession of civic rights. The agent requires no special license, but is obliged to deposit a sum of money, and the steamship company which employs him must see that the emigrant ships satisfy certain conditions as to safety and sanitary arrangements. Before sailing every ship must be inspected by the authorities, and the recent legislation in the United States makes it to the interest of the owners to see that this inspection is more than a form. By the laws of Prussia, Hanover, Hesse, Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, emigration agents must be licensed, and can only carry on their

4. Attitude of the State towards migration. (a.) Protection of emigration.

(1) Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, vols. LII., LVI. LVIII., 1892 and 1893. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., p. 1018, Art., "Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland," von Philippovich. The scarcity of labour is said to have been less in 1893, and the emigration from German ports has diminished. *See* Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892-3, p. 539. Vol. III., 1893-4, p. 6.

(1) A new emigration law is under consideration for Bremen requiring that agents should be resident in Bremen and German subjects, and that they should deposit 30,000 M. as caution money. Sozialpolitisches Centralblatt, vol. II., 1892-3, p. 499.

business within the particular State for which their license holds good. The absence of uniformity, however, in the matter of the control of emigration goes far to neutralise the good effects of the existing statutes.(1)

(b.) Colonial policy.

The attitude of the Imperial Government is, in the opinion of several writers, the more to be regretted as it tends to limit the colonial expansion of Germany and thus to diminish the commercial advantages which she might derive from her vast transoceanic migration. The statistics given above show that over 90 per cent. of the emigrants go to the United States, and, therefore, become to a great extent absorbed in an alien nation. Even though in certain parts of the States, where the Teutonic element is strong, the German language and the German nationality resist the influences of the surroundings to a degree which draws forth expressions of alarm from American writers, it is clear that so long as English is the official language and the English and Americans form the dominant class there can be no German nation in North America. In the southern parts of Brazil, and in all the temperate regions of South America, a sphere is offered for German colonisation; but, though some success has been already achieved in the provinces of Rio Grande del Sul, Santa Catharina and Parana, the political conditions of South America must for some time, at any rate, retard its economic development. Nevertheless, Professor Roscher gives an encouraging account of the Brazilian colonies. There are already 180,000 Germans settled there, the climate of that part of Brazil is healthy, the soil fertile, and the conditions as to wood and water favourable to that intensive cultivation of small holdings in which the German colonists excel. The colony of Santa Cruz, founded in 1849, numbered 14,000 inhabitants in 1880, and possessed 15 churches, 26 schools, 2,000 dwelling-houses, and 28 commercial establishments. Besides the cultivation of the cereals belonging to temperate zones the colonists grew large quantities of maize, potatoes, tapioca, sugar-cane, vines, tobacco, and gourds. The success of Santa Cruz is by no means exceptional, and may fairly be taken as representative of the results of most of the colonies. It is especially noticeable that the colonists have succeeded in preserving their national language and institutions; this Professor Roscher attributes to the fact that they have formed compact settlements instead of scattering abroad through the province. South Africa affords the only other promising field for German colonial enterprise. The influence of the Dutch and the English is, according to Dr. Roscher, not as yet sufficiently overwhelming to exclude the possibility of the Teutonic race establishing an ascendancy. This may be questioned in view of the comparatively small emigration from Germany to Africa, but it is an undoubted fact that great efforts are being made by private companies to supply what they regard as the deficiencies of the German Government in developing the South African settlements.(2)

(c.) Inland colonisation.

To pass to the attitude of the Government towards checking the emigration, which represents a positive loss to the mother country, it is clear that the efforts of the State must chiefly be directed to remedying the conditions of agricultural labour in the eastern provinces. Both on national and on economic grounds the Government have been anxious to find some means of attaching the German labourer to his native land, and thus preventing either the conversion of the East into a desert, or the advent of Russians and Poles to a degree which would involve "a difference of race "between the landlords and their labourers, and this "in territories formerly purely Teutonic." It has been well pointed out by Dr. Weber that the first result of such a state of things would be a divergence of political interests between employers and employed, and that the further and more serious result from a national point of view would be the gradual approximation of the interests of the German landlords to those of their Polish labourers. Nor is the interest of the Catholic Church any less involved than that of the German Government in maintaining the national barriers, since the loss of a German and Catholic Poland would be the loss of her only safeguard against the advance of the orthodox Greek Church of Russia. An attempt has been made by the Government since 1886 to establish colonies both of labourers (*Arbeitor*) and of small proprietors (*Bauer*) throughout the eastern provinces. This "inland colonisation" is regarded by Dr. Sering as only a further step in a process which has been going on for centuries and which was an original characteristic of the development of the Germanic races. The movement in its more modern form appears in the latter part of the 17th century in the establishment of the so-called moor colonies on a plan borrowed from Holland. In Friesland, Oldenburg, and Hanover great stretches of moorland were cleared of the peat-moss which covered them, and the money obtained for this moss was expended in manuring and tilling the cleared ground and establishing colonies with the aid of the State. Similar settlements were made on the moors and in the marshes of Pomerania and Prussia, and during the 17th and 18th centuries numerous colonies were founded in Posen and West Prussia for the most part of labourers from Silesia. A Prussian law, passed in 1845 and amended in 1853, empowered private individuals to found colonies upon their estates, with the approval of the authorities, and thus to secure for themselves a permanent supply of labour. In 1886 the growing scarcity of labour and the alarming increase of Polish immigration led to the passing of a law for the promotion of German settlements in West Prussia and Posen. By this law the State devoted a sum of 100,000,000 marks to the buying of land for establishing settlements of German labourers and small proprietors, and thus strengthening the Teutonic element in the provinces peculiarly liable to the invasion of the Slavs. A Commission was appointed and empowered to purchase suitable land, to select colonists from South and West Germany, to mark out the land into suitable divisions, to determine the proper relations of the new colony to the communal and provincial authorities, and to give such moderate aid to the colonists as should be required to establish them in their new life. Crown lands were to be used where possible, but private lands suitable for the purpose might be acquired. These lands were to be divided into holdings of varying size, suitable either for small farmers (*Bauernhöfe*) or for labourers' allotments (*Arbeiterstellen*). The separate holdings might be transferred to the colonists for their capital value, or they might be leased for short periods. The income which the Government would thus derive is to be allowed to accumulate up to 1907, and to form a fund for colonisation purposes; afterwards it will simply form part of the ordinary revenue. The work of the Commission between 1886 and 1891 has been made the subject of an exhaustive criticism by Dr. Max Sering. He is of opinion that the attempts both of the Government and of private individuals to establish colonies of labourers only have proved a failure. Where, as in the case of private individuals, the labourers are restricted to service on the one estate, the owner has, indeed, succeeded in securing a sufficient and constant supply of labour, but the dependence of the colonists is even greater than that of the ordinary day labourers. On the other hand, where the labourers can take service as they please, they are just as ready to migrate to other districts for the summer months as the rest of the surrounding population. Colonies of this kind, therefore, afford no adequate remedy for the evils arising from scarcity of labour. Dr. Weber points out that their only effect is to create a potato-eating instead of a corn-eating population, and to establish the worst of all proletariates, "a proletariate of landowners, to whom their holdings have become a curse." The reason, in Dr. Sering's opinion, is the lack of sufficient incentive to industry. Where all are on a level, and there is no prospect of a rise in the social scale, the best workmen merely wait until they have saved a little money, and then emigrate, like others, to America. A colony to succeed must be composed of holdings of various sizes, so that the labourer may, by successive stages, become the small farmer. "In the case of "small holdings, it is of the utmost importance that "they should never be established except in connexion "with villages," *i.e.*, in connexion with larger holdings. Labourers' colonies (*Arbeiterkolonien*) pure and simple have proved a failure, but the success of the Commissioners with the colonies of small farmers (*Bauerkolonien*) has been considerable, and would have been even greater but for certain errors in their earlier procedure which experience may correct. The political tendencies of the law of 1886 restricted them at first to the purchase of Polish estates. Consequently, prices were raised artificially, and the Commissioners often found themselves possessed of land which was unsuitable for their purpose; hence a heavy expenditure for drainage and other preparatory works. Further, they were

(1) Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., pp. 1018, 1041. Arts, "Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland," v. Philippovich and "Auswanderungsunternehmungen," Meyer. Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, vol. LII., 1892. Roscher and Jannasch, "Kolonien, Kolonialpolitik und Auswanderung," 1885.

(2) Roscher and Jannasch, "Kolonien, Kolonialpolitik und Auswanderung," 1885, Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. IV., p. 72. Art, "Kolonien und Kolonialpolitik," Halle, Royal Commission on Labour, Foreign Reports, vol. II., pp. 176-204.

obliged to select as colonists, labourers and small farmers of German nationality, and not already holding land in the provinces, whereas private experience had shown that the enlargement of existing holdings and the grant of land to labourers already on the spot was a cheaper method and one which obviated the delay and difficulty inseparable from settling persons from a distance in a strange country. Further, the expense incurred in erecting unnecessarily substantial buildings might have been avoided either by substituting log huts or by making more use of land with buildings already in existence. On the whole, however, their efforts have met with success. They have been exceptionally happy in the difficult task of selecting suitable colonists, and up to 1891 they had established about 900 families, numbering altogether between 4,000 and 5,000 persons. The houses and land have been well arranged; two-thirds of the holdings comprise between 5 hectares and 20 hectares (12½ to 50 acres), one-fourth are over 20 hectares, and the rest are labourers' allotments. About 5 per cent. of the land acquired remains common property, chapels and schools have been built at the Government expense, and teachers and clergy appointed and paid by the Commission. The colonists were allowed at first to incur too heavy liabilities for machinery and buildings, and in some cases took up more land than they were able to cultivate. The seasons, too, and the low prices obtainable for agricultural produce have been against them, but, on the whole, they are reported to be succeeding, and to be in a fair way to pay the interest due from them for the building and drainage works carried out by the Commission. Three years' grace is allowed to leaseholders, who have to erect their farm buildings, before any rent is required from them; afterwards, the average payments to be made including interest on advances for buildings and drainage and instalments of the sums advanced amount to 30 marks a hectare. (1).

5. Polish colonies.

The action of the German Government has stirred up the friends of the Poles to undertake to establish corresponding colonies of Polish labourers upon German soil. In July 1888 an "Agricultural and Credit Association" was formed with the object of founding such a colony, by pledging the credit of the members as a whole. Some of them were intending colonists, whilst others had merely a financial interest in the scheme. A bank was established at Posen, and an estate purchased in the Stargard district of West Prussia, which had been previously refused by the Settlement Commission both because it belonged to German owners and because they regarded the land as unsuitable for their purposes. In spite of some preliminary difficulties the colony was established and the land divided into holdings, only 10 of which exceeded 20 hectares (50 acres). The nature of the land is such, however, that smaller holdings scarcely suffice to support a family, and the result has been that though Polish families can maintain themselves where a German family could not, and, therefore, as far as nationality is concerned, the founders of the colony have succeeded in accomplishing their object, from an economic point of view the colony is anything but a success. It has degenerated into a mere labourers' colony, and the men are obliged to migrate to other districts, and even to Westphalia, for the summer so as to supplement their scanty produce by the wages which they can earn. The houses present a good external appearance, but they are often overcrowded; in some cases two or three families inhabit one house. In 1891 the potato harvest failed, and the settlers were unable to discharge their obligations. In short, as Dr. Max Sering says, the founders of the colony have merely established "a pauper village." Another colony has been established at Waldon, in the Kulm district, but no details are forthcoming as to its results. (1)

(1) Sering, "Arbeiterfrage und Kolonisation," 1892. Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, vols. LII., LVI., LVIII., 1892, 1893. Lexis, "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften," vol. I., pp. 291, 311. Arts., "Ansiedelung," Meitzen, and "Ansiedelungsgesetz," Schmiedeck, vol. V., p. 421. Art., "Rentengüter," Sering.

G. Cost and General Conditions of Living.

(a.) Workmen's budgets.

In comparing the standard of living of the English and German workmen, Dr. von Schulze-Gaevernitz points out that the best selected workmen's budgets compiled up to the present time show an expenditure which in almost every case is nearly equal to the receipts. Indeed, a very large number of cases "show "a deficiency which must be made up by charity, by "Poor-law relief or too often by prostitution, and "always by misery or want." Even amongst skilled workmen, the standard of living is of necessity far lower than in England; potatoes and rye bread are the staple articles of food, meat and wheaten bread being articles of luxury. In very many districts the whole of the weekly wages are required for the actual necessaries of food and drink, whilst little or nothing remains for clothing, literature, recreation, or similar purposes. These statements made by Dr. von Schulze-Gaevernitz receive abundant confirmation from the statistics collected amongst the Leipzig printers, the investigations of the Economic section of the Free German Institution (*Freie Deutsche Hochstift*), at Frankfurt-am-Main, the more recent investigations of Herr Wörishoffer in Mannheim, and Dr. von Schulze-Gaevernitz' own researches amongst the weavers of North-Western Germany.

The gradual advance in the sum required for the weekly expenses of a printer's household is shown in the following table:—

(1) Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik. vol. LVI., 1893, pp. 248-268.

Table X. 1.—Printer's Weekly Budgets, Leipzig, 1857, 1886, and 1890.

Budget, 1857, per week.				Budget, 1886, per week.		Budget, 1890, in districts with high prices and in districts with low prices.		
	Thal.	Gros.	Pf.		M.		M.	M.
Board of printer with wife and two children of school age.	3	0	0	Coffee (including one breakfast)	1·68	Rent	4·50	2·0
Rent at 24 thal. a year	0	15	0	Two breakfasts	2·10	Heating and lighting	2·0	1·50
Shoes for year 4 thal. 20 gros.	0	5	8½	Dinner	4·21	Rates and taxes	0·80	0·40
Clothes	0	5	0	Tea	2·10	Contributions to funds	2·70	1·80
Lights	0	1	0	Supper	2·81	Medical aid and medicine	0·50	0·50
Wood for fires	0	4	0	Clothes for husband	0·77	School-money, newspapers, and occasional expenses.	1·50	1·0
Coals	0	2	5	„ „ wife	0·58	Furniture and household necessaries.	2·0	2·0
School money, school materials	0	5	0	„ „ two children	0·35	Clothes, shoes, &c.	3·25	2·50
Washing of linen	0	1	6½	Shoes for four	0·97	Linen	1·75	1·50
Soap	0	1	2	Linen	0·70	Washing	1·0	0·80
Blacking	0	0	6	Washing	0·50	Fire insurance, travelling expenses, repairs to house, &c.	0·50	0·50
Matches'	0	0	3	Rent	3·84	Breakfast and tea	6·0	4·0
Taxes	0	1	2	Heating	1·0	Dinner	9·59	7·0
Contributions to sick and pension funds.	0	6	0	Lighting	0·23	Supper	4·0	2·50
Extra firing required in winter	0	7	2	Contributions to funds	2·31	Beer, tobacco, and cigars	3·0	2·50
				Taxes	0·19	Recreation	2·0	1·50
				Rates	0·34			
				Minor expenses (including beer, tobacco, books, &c.)	1·53			
Total	4 or 14 m.	26	5 65 pf.	Total	26·21	Total	45 0	32 0

Note.—These three budgets are calculated by three different people, and this fact must be remembered in drawing comparisons. The value in marks of the first is given as stated on the authority from which the table is taken.

In all three cases a wife and three children are reckoned in addition to the man himself, and by the tariff of 1890 the normal wages of a printer do not, even under the most favourable circumstances, exceed 25·62 marks a week. "To make up the yearly deficit "the wife must take her share of wage-labour, and the "children in warm weather must go bare foot to save "shoes." The contraction of the home market which must result from the small consuming power of such a large section of the population, is even more clearly indicated by the following series of budgets:—

TABLE X. 2.—WORKMEN'S BUDGETS IN FRANKFOURT AM MAIN, 1888.

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.			
Sources whence derived (by months).	Employé in Government Railway Works.	Chemical Worker in large Factory.	Odd Man employed about Houses.	Items of Expenditure for the whole Year.	Employé in Government Railway Works.	Chemical Worker in large Factory.	Odd Man employed about Houses.
	M.	M.	M.		M.	M.	M.
January.—Wages	57·08	80·0	42·65	Meat.—Best	40·48	40·08	60·71
„ Cash in hand on 1st	—	8·17	—	„ Inferior	27·53	9·94	
„ Overtime	—	1·20	—	„ Mincemeat	2·15		
„ Other Receipts	—	0·91	—	„ Sausages	56·27	19·90	18·55
February.—Wages	83·13	78·50	61·0	„ Bacon	0·55	—	—
„ Other Receipts	—	21·80	—	Fish	0·95	—	6·46
March.—Wages	85·69	80·0	35·0	Bread.—Rye Bread	98·11	140·77	18·25*
„ Other Receipts	—	2·0	—	„ Rolls	78·33	21·25	—
„ Grant from Lutherans	5·0	—	—	„ Biscuits	2·13	—	—
„ Overtime	—	0·80	—	„ Meal	15·80	7·58	5·64
April.—Wages	37·70	80·0	31·75	Cheese	2·94	5·55	7·03
„ Loan from Charitable Society.	10·0	—	—	Eggs	1·64	11·28	13·87
„ Overtime	—	1·20	—	Dried Vegetables	13·43	4·15	25·15
„ Other Receipts	—	8·50	—	Green Vegetables	3·24	11·96	
May.—Wages	63·30	80·0	38·50	Potatoes	29·33	24·14	
„ Drawn from Provident Fund.	1·90	—	—	Pickled Vegetables	6·59	—	
„ Other Receipts	—	3·0	—	Vermicelli (*Gemüsnudeln*)	0·87	—	
June.—Wages	171·85	100·0	54·0	Butter and Honey	8·31	10·12	—
„ Grant from Lutherans	5·0	—	—	Sausage Fat (*Wurstfett*)	7·45	23·83	—
„ Overtime	—	8·50	—	Lard (*Schmalzfett*)	26·94		
„ Other Receipts	—	3·50	—	Oil	5·60	10·66	14·78†
July.—Wages	—	80·0	62·0	Vinegar	1·98	11·46	
„ Overtime	—	0·40	—	Salt	2·79		
August.—Wages	106·02	80·0	49·0	Spices	2·72		
„ Other Receipts	—	0·54	—	Coffee	42·60	33·88	19·22‡
September.—Wages	107·33	100·0	86·0	Chicory	10·98	1·85	—
„ Overtime	—	9·10	—	Sugar	11·48	19·09	—
„ Other Receipts	1·50	3·05	—	Gravy	2·72	14·12	—
October.—Wages	172·17	80·0	71·0	Meals out of the House (Man or Children).	4·80	95·02	—
„ Overtime	—	3·30	—	Fruit	5·26	8·08	—
„ Other Receipts	—	16·0	—	Drinks.—Milk	34·48	50·45	—
„ Grant from Lutherans	5·0	—	—	„ Beer	19·60	21·11	40·96
November.—Wages	—	80·0	76·0	„ Wine and Cyder	1·82		
„ Overtime	—	25·20	—	„ Brandy	4·44		
„ Other Receipts	—	1·20	—	„ Seltzer Water	0·30	—	—
December.—Wages	140·24	97·0	63·0	Heating and Lighting.—Petroleum	20·05	53·25	8·11
„ Other Receipts	3·50	20·0	—	„ „ Wood	4·90		31·87
„ Rent of Rooms let (for year).	—	—	138·0	„ „ Coals	33·0		
				„ „ Fir Cones	2·50		
				„ „ Matches	0·40		
				Cleaning (Soda, Soap, &c.)	20·97	24·34	7·25
				Education	9·05	20·99	—
				Shoes.—New	26·15	63·70	39·95
				„ Mending	28·10		
				Linen	6·65	—	—
				Clothes.—New	12·80	83·45	14·12
				„ Mending	10·30		

NOTE.—(1.) The family of the Government employé received assistance in kind from charitable societies, including coals, potatoes, and a considerable amount of clothing.
(2.) "Other Receipts" include such items as money gained by selling rags, &c., stray earnings, gifts at Christmas and New Year gratuities, money won at cards, &c.

* Including Wheaten Bread. † Including Sugar. ‡ Including Tea.

TABLE X. 2.—WORKMEN'S BUDGETS IN FRANKFOURT AM MAIN, 1888—*continued.*

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.			
Sources whence derived (by Months).	Employé in Government Railway Works.	Chemical Worker in large Factory.	Odd Man employed about Houses.	Items of Expenditure for the whole Year.	Employé in Government Railway Works.	Chemical Worker in large Factory.	Odd Man employed about Houses.
	M.	M.	M.		M.	M.	M.
				Household Articles.—New	15·23	23·23	10·0
				„ „ Mending	1·55		
				Cigars and Tobacco	20·35	45·26	3·31
				Medicine	13·29	—	11·30
				Rent	168·0	166·50	324·0
				Contributions to Insurance Funds	47·36	—	—
				Subscriptions to Trade Unions	10·0	13·80	—
				Paying off Debts	1·80	—	—
				Recreation, Papers, &c.	—	12·55	—
				Taxes	—	1·30	6·0
				Sundry Minor Expenses	6·40	38·89	29·38
				Unforeseen Expenses	8·15	—	—
Total Receipts	1,056·41	1,173·87	806·90	Sewing Materials	4·83	—	6·08
Total Expenditure	1,045·14	1,148·53	745·92	Savings	0·50	—	—
Balance of Receipts over Expenditure.	11·27	25·34	60·98	Total	1,045·14	1,148·53	745·92

Here three typical instances have been taken, and the details collected with every possible precaution. Each man's budget shows a balance in hand at the end of the year, but in the case of the Government employé this result is only obtained with the help of charitable societies, and by means of numerous gifts of old clothes. The total expenditure of the man and his wife with their four children for clothing only amounts to 23·10 marks in the year, and it was said to be 15 years since a complete suit of clothes had been bought for any member of the family. The second budget shows a better result for a family of the same size, but the father is said to be in an exceptionally well-managed factory, and one in which the employers themselves contribute to the workmen's savings by taking upon themselves the whole cost of both sick and old-age insurance. None of the budgets given, either in this or in any subsequent tables, relate to cases of exceptional poverty; all may be taken as representative of the better class of workmen's households, and afford, therefore, a striking picture of the limited consuming power of German workmen as a class.

Passing to Mannheim, and there taking two examples of highly skilled labour, comparatively favourably situated, and one of less skilled labour in the neighbouring country district, it appears that at the end of the year the respective savings amount to 120, 90, and 10 marks. The first two families are each five in number, including three children besides the parents; the last family numbers the husband and wife, four children, and the husband's mother.

TABLE X. 3.—YEARLY BUDGETS of MANNHEIM FACTORY WORKERS.

INCOME.				EXPENDITURE.			
Sources:	Iron Moulder in Agricultural Implement Works.	Iron Turner in Engineering Works.	Glass Polisher in Factory living in Country.	Items.	Iron Moulder in Agricultural Implement Works.	Iron Turner in Engineering Works.	Glass Polisher in Factory living in Country.
	M.	M.	M.		M.	M.	M.
Annual earnings of husband	1,375	1,510	1,190	Housekeeping.—Including	990	980	840
„ „ of wife by dressmaking.	—	100	—	„ Rye Bread	183	116	183
„ „ of boy of 14	—	180	—	„ Wheaten Bread	66	54	98
Rent received for sub-letting rooms	65	240	—	„ Meat and Sausages.	160	252	145
				„ Fish	—	5	—
				„ Potatoes	55	52	Grows his own.
				„ Meal, &c.	31	53	23
				„ Dried Vegetables	10	31	4
				„ Green Vegetables and Fruit.	16	50	Grows his own.
				„ Butter	58	55	32
				„ Lard, &c.	40	32	43
				„ Cheese	7	15	12
				„ Milk	141	66	57 (buys part only).
				„ Eggs	13	30	29
				„ Beer	70	57	70
				„ Brandy and Spirits.	12	—	—
				„ Coffee, sugar, salt, Groceries, &c.	104	90	126
				„ Minor expenses	24	22	18
				Rent	276	450	Lives rent free.
				Heating and Lighting	75	63	52

TABLE X. 3.—YEARLY BUDGETS OF MANNHEIM FACTORY WORKERS—*continued.*

Income.				Expenditure.			
Sources.	Iron Moulder in Agricultural Implement Works.	Iron Turner in Engineering Works.	Glass Polisher in Factory living in Country.	Items.	Iron Moulder in Agricultural Implement Works.	Iron Turner in Engineering Works.	Glass Polisher in Factory living in Country.
	M.	M.	M.		M.	M.	M.
				Clothes.—New	105	55	90
				„ Repairing	Done by wife.	20	10
				Shoes.—New	50	50	50
				„ Repairing	17	28	15
				Linen and Repairing	21	22	10
				Furniture and Repairs	15	30	12
				Soap, Washing, &c.	16	16	16
				School Money and Books	6	35	2
				Sunday recreation	55	78	2
				Cigars and Tobacco	21	20	—
				Subscriptions to Unions, Lectures, &c.	12	12	—
				Sick Insurance and Life Insurance	115	54	42
Total	1,940	2,030	1,190	Taxes	10	9	10
Expenditure	1,820	1,940	1,180	Minor unforeseen Expenses	86	18	11
Balance	120	90	10	Total	1,820	1,940	1,180

The three budgets show considerable variety in detail, but the total amount paid for food is much the same in the first two cases, and the great diminution in the third finds at any rate a partial explanation in the produce of the garden. The much larger amount spent by the town operatives on recreation deserves notice.

The weaver's budget given by Dr. von Schulze-Gaevernitz is as follows:—(1)

(1) v. Schulze-Gaevernitz, "Der Gross-betrieb, eine Studie auf dem Gebiete der Baumwoll-industrie," 1892, pp. 244-248. Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik, Vol. XLV., 1890, pp. 468-470. Wörishoffer, "Die Lage der Fabrikarbeiter in Mannheim," 1891, pp. 235 231. "Frankfurter Arbeiterbudgets," 1890.

TABLE X. 4.—WEEKLY BUDGET of NORTH GERMAN WEAVER with WIFE and FOUR CHILDREN.

Income.		Expenditure.	
	M.		M.
Wages of Father	15	42 lbs. Rye-bread (Second quality)	5·60
Amount paid by Children for Board and Lodging	7	30 pints Potatoes	1·80
		2 lbs. Rolls	2·0
		2 lbs. Meal (Second quality)	0·40
		¾ lbs. Meat (Sunday)	0·45
		½ Suet	
		Vegetables	3·40
		Coffee	0·20
		2½ lbs. Butter	3·40
		6 pints Skimmed Milk	0·60
		Rent	3·20
		Sick and Old Age Insurance	0·65
		School Money	0·15
Total	22	Total	21·85

(*b.*) Housing of the working classes.

The great lack of suitable dwellings for the working classes in the large towns of Germany, the degree of overcrowding that exists, and the heavy rents, which must be paid, have been illustrated by a series of tables compiled by Herr Trüdinger, of the Tübingen University.

TABLE Z. 1.—CHARACTER of DWELLINGS in SIX of the LARGE CITIES of GERMANY.

City.	Year.	Number of Dwellings.	Proportion per 1,000 with the possibility of heating				Proportion per 1,000 situated in			
			No Rooms.	One Room.	Two Rooms.	More than two Rooms.	Cellars.	Ground Floor.	Attics.	Other Floors.
Berlin	1880	255,929	13	498	265	224	91	146	163	589
Hamburg	„	88,826	10	393	284	300	65	204	55	546
Breslau	„	60,615	6	590	217	187	41	132	122	688
Dresden	„	49,833	2	593	204	241	29	148	170	604
Leipzig	„	28,510	1	285	272	442	20	157	135	682
Frankfurt am Main	„	27,763	1	256	222	541	1	174	43	715

TABLE Z. 2.—PROPORTION of the POPULATION living under the ABOVE CONDITIONS.

City.	Year.	Proportion per 1,000 Inhabitants living in Dwellings situated in				Proportion per 1,000 Dwellings.		Average number of Inhabitants in Dwellings, with possibility of heating		
		Cellars.	Ground Floor.	Attics.	Other Floors.	Small.	Of these very over-crowded.	No Rooms.	One Room.	Two Rooms.
Berlin	1880	92	148	155	587	776	115	3·1	3·7	4·5
Hamburg	„	61	194	54	492	687	107	3·5	3·7	4·5
Breslau	„	38	128	111	698	813	144	3·5	3·8	4·4
Dresden	„	27	147	168	578	756	125	2·2	3·6	4·4
Leipzig	„	17	151	145	673	558	—	2·4	3·8	5·1
Frankfurt am Main	„	1	167	36	692	459	27	2·4	3·5	4·3

In Berlin the conditions are specially bad, and the average number of persons inhabiting one tenement (*Grundstück*) has risen from 60·7 in 1880 to 66·0 in 1885. Sub-letting was shown by the census of 1880 to be exceedingly frequent, 7·1 per cent. of the population took in persons who boarded and lodged with them, and 15·3 per cent. took in persons to sleep (*Schafleute*). One instance is given of a household taking 34 such night lodgers, in another case there were eleven, including two women. Thirty-eight per cent. of the families taking night lodgers lived in a single room; one instance is mentioned in which a man and his wife with a family shared their one room with seven men and one woman. Though the worst kind of night shelters, known as "Pennen," have now been suppressed by the police, it is still "the opinion of experienced observers . . . that the evils existing in the large towns of England are less crying than in Germany."

According to a table constructed by Herr Trüdinger the proportion borne by house rent to income in five of the chief towns of Germany was as follows:—

TABLE Z. 3.

Income. M.	Percentage of house rent to income in						
	Berlin 1876 (6,170 cases).	Hamburg.			Breslau 1880 (34,897 cases).	Leipzig 1875 (4,021 cases).	Dresden 1880 (30,825 cases).
		1868 (13,059 cases).	1874 (14,691 cases).	1882 (17,289 cases).			
Under 600	—	22·3	24·2	26·5	28·7	29·9	26·8
601—1,200	24 7	18·8	20·9	23·5	21·0	21·2	18·4
1,201—1,800	21·8	19·9	21·1	18·9	20·8	19·7	16·3
1,801—2,400	21·6	20·3	20·9	19·5	19·1	20·4	15·9
2,401—3,000	18·6	19·5	19·2	18·8	19·7	18·3	15·4
3,001—3,600	21·3	19·6	19·0	17·9	19·8	16·9	15·3
3,601—4,800	18·6	19·1	17·8	17·8	18·3	15·5	15·4
4,801—6,000	17·9	18·6	17·4	18·3	18·3	15·4	14·6
6,001—12,000	15·0	16·0	15·5	16·7	13·7	13·1	13·0
12,001—30,000	11·7	11·5	10·8	12·2	8·9	8·4	9·9
30,001—60,000	8·8	6·7	7·4	8·1	3·6	5·5	7·1
Over 60,000	3·6	3·7	3·8	3·9	3·4	1·9	3·9

The poorest classes therefore must pay a house rent equal to about a quarter of their income. In Berlin the actual monthly rents payable in 1890 appear from the following table (1):—

TABLE Z. 4.

District.	One room.	One room with kitchen.	Two rooms with kitchen.
	M.	M.	M.
Outer circle (except Western District)	7·50—12·50	15·0—25·0	18·75—28·75
Inner circle and Western District	14·0—18·0	25·0—28·75	Up to 35·0
Centre	Up to 20·50	Up to 35·0	Up to 45·0

(1) Trüdinger, "Die Arbeiterwohnungsfrage," 1888. Albrecht, "Die Wohnungsnot in den Grossstädten," 1891. Freund und Malachowski, "Zur Berliner Arbeiterwohnungsfrage, 1892.

APPENDIX A.

CATALOGUE OF LITERATURE CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE REPORT ON THE LABOUR QUESTION IN GERMANY.

I.—*Laws.*

1. Das Reichsgesetz betreffend die Gewerbegerichte. (The Law on Trade Tribunals.) L. Mugdan. 1891.
2. Reichs-Gewerbe-Ordung. (The Industrial Code.) T. P. Berger, 1891.
3. Die Gesetze über den Unterstützungswohnsitz. (The Laws of Relief Domicile.) C. Hahn, 1872.
4. Führer durch die gesammte Arbeiterversicherung. (A Guide to the Laws on Insurance against Sickness, Accidents, Infirmity and Old Age.) 1891. C. Pfafferoth.
5. Normalstatut für Berufsgenossenschaften. (Normal Rules for Trade Associations.) 1885.

II. *Official Publications.*

1. Statistik der Krankenversicherung der Arbeiter im Jahre 1890. (Statistics of Workmen's Sick Insurance in 1890.) Berlin, 1892.
2. Rechnungsergebnisse der Berufsgenossenschaften, Nachweisung für das Jahr 1891. (Returns of the Trade Associations. Report for 1891 on Accident Insurance.) Berlin, 1892.
3. Nachweisung der gesammten Geschäfts und Rechnungsergebnisse der Invaliditäts und Altersversicherungs - anstalten für das Jahr, 1891. (Report on the Financial and Statistical Results of the Invalidity and Old-age Insurance Institutes for 1891.) Berlin, 1892.
4. Die überseeische Auswanderung im Jahre, 1892. (Transoceanic migration in 1892.)
5. Die Lohn-verhältnisse in Berlin im Sept. 1889 and 1891. (Wages in Berlin during the month of September 1889 and 1891.) 1890 and 1892.
6. Erhebung über die Arbeitszeit in Bäckereien und Conditoreien. (Enquiry into the Hours of Labour in Bakers and Confectioners' establishments.) 1892.
7. Amtliche Mitteilungen aus den Jahres-Berichten der mit Beaufsichtigung der Fabriken betrauten Beamten. (Official Extracts from the Annual Reports of the Factory Inspectors for 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891.)
8. Jahres - Berichte der Königlich-Preussischen Gewerberäthe und Bergbehörden. (Annual Reports of the Royal Prussian Industrial Councillors and Mining Authorities for 1889, 1890, 1891.)
9. Denkschrift über die Untersuchung der Arbeiter und Betriebs-Verhältnisse in den Steinkohlen-Bezirken. (Memorandum on the Conditions of Labour in the Coal Mining Districts after the Strike.) 1890.
10. Zeitschrift für das Berg, Hütten, und Salinen-Wesen im Preussischen Staate, mit einem Atlas. (Miners' Dwellings in Prussia, with Diagrams.) 1892.
11. Die Wohnungsverhältnisse der Berg-und Salinenarbeiter im Obergamtsbezirke Halle. (The Conditions of Residence amongst Miners and Salt Workers in the Halle District.) Otto Taeglichsbeth, 1892.

III. *Publications of the Verein für Sozialpolitik (Economic Club).*

1. Vol. II. Ueber Fabrikgestzgebung, Schiedsgerichte und Eigungsämter. (The working of the Factory Laws and the Establishment of Courts of Arbitration and Boards of Conciliation.) Jacobi and others, 1873.
2. Vol. VII. Ueber Bestrafung des Arbeitsvertragsbruches. (On Punishment for Breaches of the Labour Contract.) Brentano and others, 1874.
3. Vol. X. Die Reform des Lehrlingswesens. (The Reform of Apprenticeship.) 1875.
4. Vol XIX. Die Haftpflichtfrage. (The Liability of Employers in Various Countries.) 1880.
5. Vol. XXVII. Agrarische Zustände in Frankreich und England. (The Condition of Agriculture in France and England) Von Reitzenstein and Nasse. 1884.
6. Vols. XXXIX. XLII. XLVIII. Die deutsche Hausindustrie. (German Home Industries.) 5 vols. 1889 and 1891.
7. Vol. XLV. Arbeitseinstellungen und Fortbildung des Arbeitsvertrags. (Strikes and the Gradual Development of the Labour Contract.) Brentano and others, 1890.
8. Vol. XLVI. Arbeiter-Auschüsse in der deutschen Ind strie. ("Workmen's Committees in German Ind-stries.") Max Sering. 1890.
9. Vols. XLVII. and LVIII. Verhandlungen von 189 und 1893. (Proceedings in 1890 and 1893.)
10. Vol. LII. Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik in Deutschland. (Emigration and Emigration policy in Germany.) v. Philippovich, 1892.
11. Vols. LIII. LIV. LV. Verhältnisse der Ländarbeiter. (Condition of the Agricultural Labourer.) 1892. (3 vols.)
12. Vol. LVI. Die innere Kolonisation im östlichen Deutschland. (Internal Colonisation in Eastern Germany.) Max Sering. 1893.

IV. *Dictionaries.*

1. Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften. (Dictionary of Political Science edited by Conrad, Lexis and others.) 5 vols. 1890, 1892, 1893.
2. Wörterbuch des Deutschen Verwaltungsrechts. (Dictionary of German, Administrative Law.) Edited by Dr. Karl Freiherr von Stengel. 1890, 1892.
3. Mühlbrecht's Wegweiser. (Muhlbrecht's Guide to Economic Literature.) 1893.

V. *German Literature on the Labour Question.*

1. Die Geschichte der Berliner Bewegung. (The History of the Berlin Movement) Max. Schon. 1889.
2. Sozialreform und Genossenschaftswesen. (Social Reform and Co-operation.) Freiherr von Broich. 1890.
3. Die Teilung des Geschäftsgewinns. (Profit-sharing.) N. P. Gilman and L. Katscher. 1891.
4. Arbeiterfrage und Kolonisation. (The Labour Question and Colonisation in East Prussia.) Dr. Sering. 1892.
5. Kolonien, Kolonialpolitik und Auswanderung. (Colonies, Colonial Policy and Emigration.) Wilhem Roscher and Robert Jannasch. 1885.
6. Der Kampf des preussischen Königthums um die Erhaltung des Bauernstands. (The Struggle of the Prussian Government to Preserve the Class of Peasant Farmers.) Extract from Year Book for Legislation, &c. Vol. XII. G. Schmoller.
7. Ueber Auswanderung. (Emigration.) Friedrich Kapp. 1871.
8. Zur Social und Gewerbepolitik der Gegenwart. (A Contribution to the Social and Industrial Question in the Present Day.) G. Schmoller. 1890.
9. Der Emanzipationskampf des vierten Standes. (Socialism and Trade Unionism in Germany and Other Countries.) Dr. R. Meyer. 1882.
10. Das Reichsgesetz betreffend die Invaliditäts und Altersversicherung. (The Imperial Invalid and Old-age Insurance Law.) Bosse and von Woedtke. 1891.
11. Das Recht der Arbeiterversicherung. (The Law of Workmen's Insurance.) Rosin. 1893
12. Das Erfurter Programm. (The Erfurt Programme.) K. Kautsky. 1892.
13. Der Hungerschutz. (Legal Insurance against Hunger.) H. Rosenthal. 1888.
14. Arbeiterstimmen über Unfall. u. Krankheitsverhütung. (Working Men's Views on the Prevention of Accidents and Illness.) Dr. Hirsch. 1889.
15. Die Sozialpolitische Bewegung in Deutschland. (The Social Movement in Germany from 1863 to 1890.) Dr. E. Heitz. 1891.

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APPENDIX B.

STATEMENT of the REGULAR SALARIES and EXTRAORDINARY ALLOWANCES, together with their INCREASE according to LENGTH of SERVICE, for OFFICIALS of the PRUSSIAN STATE RAILWAYS for 1893–4 (*see* p. 110.)

APPENDIX C.

MAP illustrating the GAIN and LOSS of the various STATES and PROVINCES of GERMANY through the MIGRATION of POPULATION during the Census period 1885–1890.

STATEMENT of the REGULAR SALARIES and EXTRAORDINARY ALLOWANCES, together with their INCREASE according to Length of Service, for OFFICIALS of the PRUSSIAN STATE RAILWAYS, for 1893–94.

Current Number.	Class of Official.	Yearly Salary of the Divisions.									Period during which the Salary belonging to each Division is held									House Rent Allowance.	Part of Extra Allowances Calculated for Pensions.*
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.		
		£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.	£	Years.	Years.	Years.	Years.	Years.	Years.	Years.	Years.	Years.	Class.	
1	Presidents	—	—	—	—	525 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	II.	Directors of departments are credited with 45*l.*; also deputy presidents.
2	Members of the railway directories and traffic directors, as also heads of departments of the works at Essen.	210 0	225 0	240 0	255 0	270 0	285 0	300 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	III.	
3	Members of the traffic offices, inspectors of the line, of buildings and machinery, and traffic inspectors.	180 0	195 0	210 0	225 0	240 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	III.	
4	Telegraph inspectors	150 0	160 0	170 0	180 0	190 0	200 0	—	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	—	IV.	
5	Auditors of accounts at central offices	—	—	—	—	240 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	IV.	
6	Auditors of booking office accounts	160 0	170 0	180 0	190 0	200 0	—	—	—	—	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	—	—	IV.	
7	Cashiers at central offices	150 0	157 10	165 0	172 10	180 0	—	—	—	—	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	—	—	IV.	
8	Book-keepers and railway secretaries	105 0	115 0	125 0	135 0	150 0	160 0	170 0	180 0	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	IV.	
9	Secretaries in works	70 0	82 10	90 0	97 10	105 0	112 10	120 0	127 10	135	5	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	IV.	
10	Works and traffic controllers	135 0	142 10	150 0	157 10	165 0	172 10	180 0	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	IV.	
11	Draughtsmen and clerks, Class I.	82 10	90 0	97 10	105 0	112 10	120 0	127 10	135 0	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	IV.	
12	Draughtsmen and clerks	75 0	80 0	85 0	90 0	95 0	100 0	105 0	110 0	—	5	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	IV.	
13	Ticket collectors and office servants	50 0	54 0	57 0	60 0	63 0	66 0	69 0	72 0	75	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	V.	
14	Station masters, Class I.	105 0	112 10	120 0	127 10	132 10	137 10	145 0	152 10	160	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	—†	IV.	
15	*a.* Station masters, Class II. *b.* Ships' captains, Class I.	90 0	97 10	105 0	112 10	120 0	125 0	130 0	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	IV.	*a.* — *b.* 10*l.*
16	*a.* Station inspectors and station assistants *b.* Ships' captains, Class II.	75 0	80 0	85 0	90 0	95 0	100 0	105 0	110 0	—	5	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	IV.	*a.* — *b.* 10*l.*
17	Telegraph clerks	60 0	65 0	70 0	75 0	80 0	85 0	90 0	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	V.	
18	Foremen shunters and foremen of carriage works	60 0	64 0	68 0	72 0	76 0	80 0	—	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	—	V.	
19	Pointsmen, Class I.	50 0	54 0	57 0	60 0	63 0	66 0	69 0	72 0	75	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	V.	
20	Doorkeepers, ticket collectors, pointsmen, foremen loaders, and bridge-keepers.	48 0	45 0	48 0	51 0	54 0	57 0	60 0	—	—	1	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	V.	
21	Line inspectors, Class I.	90 0	97 10	105 0	112 10	120 0	125 0	130 0	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	V.	
22	Line inspectors, telegraph superintendents	75 0	80 0	85 0	90 0	95 0	100 0	105 0	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	IV.	
23	Line watchmen, loaders, and night watchmen	35 0	36 5	37 10	38 15	40 0	41 5	42 10	43 15	45	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	V.	
24	Auditors of station accounts and goods station superintendents.	120 0	127 10	135 0	140 0	145 0	152 10	160 0	—	—	2	2	2	3	3	3	—†	—	—	IV.	
25	Station receivers and goods despatchers	90 0	97 10	105 0	112 10	120 0	125 0	130 0	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	IV.	
26	Foremen loaders	60 0	63 15	67 10	71 5	75 0	78 15	82 10	86 5	90	3	3	3	3	6	3	3	3	—†	V.	
27	*a.* Engine drivers *b.* Ships' engineers *c.* Engineers for electric light establishments	60 0	66 10	73 0	79 10	86 0	92 10	100 0	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	—	—	IV.	*a.* 17*l.* 10*s.* *b.* 17*l.* 10*s.* *c.* —
28	*a.* Locomotive stokers *b.* Ships' (ferry) stokers *c.* Engine cleaners *d.* Bridge toll receivers	50 0	54 0	57 0	60 0	63 0	66 0	69 0	72 0	75	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	3	—†	V.	*a.* 12*l.* 10*s.* *b.* 9*l.* *c.* — *d.* —
29	*a.* Chief guards (Zugführer) *b.* Ships' mates	55 0	59 0	63 0	67 0	71 0	75 0	—	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	—†	3	—	—	IV.	*a.* 15*l.* *b.* 10*l.*
30	Master packers	55 0	59 0	63 0	67 0	71 0	75 9	—	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	—	V.	15*l.*
31	*a.* Guards *b.* Brakesmen *c.* Sailors	40 0	42 10	45 0	47 10	50 0	52 10	55 0	57 10	60	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	V.	*a.* 10*l.* *b.* 10*l.* *c.* 7*l.* 10*s.*
32	Workshop directors	105 0	115 0	125 0	135 0	150 0	160 0	170 0	180 0	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	IV.	
33	Workshop superintendents	90 0	97 10	105 0	112 10	120 0	125 0	130 0	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	—	IV.	
34	Foremen in workshops	60 0	64 0	68 0	72 0	76 0	80 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—†	—	—	—	V.	
35	Administrators of stores, Class I.	105 0	112 10	120 0	127 10	136 0	142 10	150 0	—	—	3	3	3	3	4	4	—†	—	—	IV.	
36	Administrators of stores, Class II.	75 0	80 0	85 0	90 0	95 0	100 0	105 0	110 0	—	5	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	—	IV.	
37	Store-keepers	50 0	54 0	57 0	60 0	63 0	66 0	69 0	72 0	75	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	—†	V.	

NOTE.—Current Nos. 2, 3.—The salaries are divided into classes.
Current Nos. 4, 6–8, 10, 11, 13–15, 17–35, and 37.—The period during which the salary belonging to each division is held counts from the day of appointment to the class to which the official belongs.
Current Nos. 9, 12, 16 and 36.—The periods during which the salary of each division is held to count from the commencement of service as a supernumerary employé. When an official is definitely appointed he receives the salary corresponding to the duration of his supernumerary service.

* For the calculation of pension these sums are added to the salary which the official draws at the time when he applies for a pension, even in cases where he has reached the highest salary of his class (§ 10 No. 4 of the Pensions Law of March 27, 1872). Local additions to salary, such as those enjoyed by employés at Berlin and Frankfort-on.Maine, and other important places, do not affect pensions. These local additions are:—For subordinate officials, chief guards, and ships' officers, up to 9*l.* per annum; for station masters of 2nd class, ships' captains, station receivers, goods despatchers, line inspectors, Class I., line inspectors, telegraph superintendents, superintendent in workshops, station superintendents, station assistants, secretaries in works, administrators of stores, Class II., engine drivers and ships' engineers, up to 12*l.* per annum: for other intermediate officials up to 20*l.* per annum. The calculation of extraordinary emoluments towards the pension of employés on locomotives and trains commenced with the year 1885–86.
† All further service.

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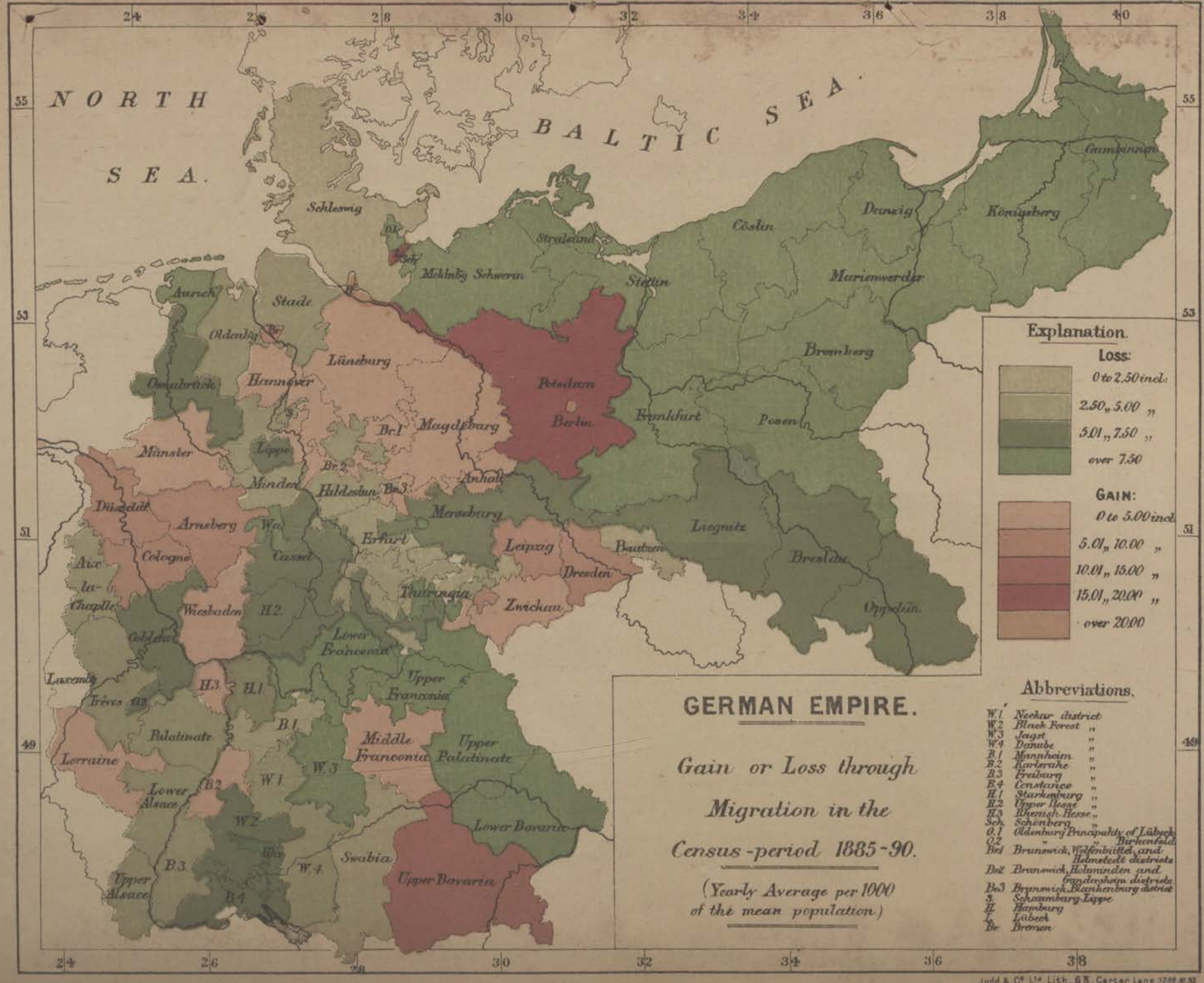

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